Daily Report

Latin America

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CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

CARIBBEAN

Cuba

Commentary Against Radio Miami International *[Havana Radio]* 1
Malmierca Returns From Nonaligned Meeting *[Havana Radio]* 1
Havana Reports on Haitian Military Promotions *[Havana Radio]* 1
Appeals Hearing Begins for Tarara Convicts *[Havana Radio]* 1
Camaguey Begins Second Vigiliance Exercise *[Havana Radio]* 2
Eighth ANAP Congress Announced for May *[Havana Radio]* 2
Nickel Plant To Intensify Energy Reduction *[Havana Radio]* 2
* Former Agent on Intelligence Activities *[Milan PANORAMA 2 Feb]* 3

Grenada

Finance Minister Brizan Presents 1992 Budget *[CANA]* 5

Haiti

Nicaragua's Tomas Borge Interviews Aristide *[EL SIGLO 10 Feb]* 5
Arbitration Committee To Publish Report *[Port-au-Prince Radio]* 9
Report Issued *[Port-au-Prince Radio]* 10
Anti-Torture Group Cancels CHADEL Membership *[Port-au-Prince Radio]* 10
Delegation To Attend Economic Community Meeting *[Port-au-Prince Radio]* 10

CENTRAL AMERICA

Belize

Cuba Offers Assistance With Sugar Industry *[CANA]* 11

Nicaragua

Recontra Leader Moran, 200 Men Surrender Rifles *[Managua Radio]* 11
Recompas To Maintain 'Select' Reserve Force *[BARRICADA 10 Feb]* 11

Panama

Assembly President on Herrera's Plot Involvement *[CRITICA LIBRE 11 Feb]* 11
Former Military Officer on Country's Defense *[LA ESTRELLA DE PANAMA 9 Feb]* 12

SOUTH AMERICA

Argentina

Condor-2 Installations Transferred to CNAE *[TELAM]* 16
Menem Says Air Force Chief To Keep Post *[BUENOS AIRES HERALD 11 Feb]* 16
Cavallo Reaffirms Opposition to Wage Indexing *[BUENOS AIRES HERALD 11 Feb]* 16

Chile

Party Leaders Admit Receiving Soviet Funds *[Santiago TV]* 16

Finance Official Discusses U.S. Financial Aid *[Santiago TV]* 17
Russian Proposal to Train Astronauts 'Confirmed' *[Santiago Radio]* 17
Air Force Responds *[Santiago Radio]* 17
* Foreign Minister on Honecker, 'Grapes Case' *[EL MERCURIO 12 Jan]* 18
* Foreign Minister's Accomplishments Evaluated *[EL MERCURIO 5 Jan]* 19

Colombia

Strikes, Protests Cause 'Total Chaos' in Bogota *[Santa Fe de Bogota TV]* 22
Guerrillas Cause 'Incalculable' Ecological Damage *[Santa Fe de Bogota Radio]* 22

Peru

Bombing of U.S. Ambassador's Residence Reported *[Lima TV]* 22
Two Policemen Dead *[Madrid EFE]* 23
Attack Attributed to MRTA *[NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS]* 23
Shining Path Issues Strike Call; Police Respond *[Madrid EFE]* 23
Documents Signed To Promote Ties With Bolivia *[EL COMERCIO 25 Jan]* 23
Blacker Discusses Integration With Chile *[EL MERCURIO 2 Feb]* 24
* Government's Priorities for 1992 Described *[EL PERUANO 2 Jan]* 28

Uruguay

Lacalle Acts To Put 'Lid' on Political Crisis 29
Replaces Cabinet Members *[Madrid EFE]* 29
Economy, Industry Ministers Comment *[Montevideo Radio]* 29
Factions, Lacalle Reach Agreement *[Montevideo Radio]* 29

Venezuela

Communique on Restructuring of Armed Forces *[Caracas TV]* 30
Changes Explained *[Caracas TV]* 30

Cuba

Commentary Against Radio Miami International

PA1202031292 Havana Radio Havana Cuba in Spanish 1330 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Roberto Morejon commentary]

[Text] The U.S. ideological and propaganda struggle against Cuba could escalate to the next higher step if the Cuban counterrevolution installs a powerful radio station aimed at destabilizing the island. According to the NOTIMEX news agency, a radio station of this kind will begin operating soon in Miami. Its content will be determined by Cuban political and paramilitary groups, who have support from U.S. authorities.

The project, called Radio Miami International, will provide for the installation of broadcast studios in that Florida city. Now anti-Cuban messages are recorded and sent by telephone to several U.S. cities for broadcasting to the island.

The U.S. Federal Communications Commission granted permission to the radio station's owners, as it has done on previous occasions with other subversive stations. Cuba is one of the countries most bombarded by adverse radio messages. It even receives the signal of a hostile television channel, even though island technicians have been able to block out such transmissions because they violate the sovereignty of Cuba's air waves.

At least 15 Cuban counterrevolutionary groups own shortwave radio stations or shows that are beamed to Cuba every day, including the ill-named Radio Marti. This radio station, sponsored by the U.S. Government, is aimed at creating among its potential listeners a feeling favorable to counterrevolutionary activity. It encourages illegal departures from the country, it stimulates a lack of social discipline and labor productivity and, in many cases, it calls on people to commit sabotage or participate in military uprisings.

Stations such as so-called TV Marti violate international communication regulations. Many of the radio stations exceed the power needed for their alleged coverage.

Radio Marti alone has used up a juicy budget of over $100 million since it hit the airwaves in 1985. This money, taken out of the taxpayers' pockets, is being used to create internal unrest in a country such as Cuba, with which the United States is not formally at war.

The new Radio Miami International project is aimed at intensifying hostilities against the Cuban revolution, with the alleged goal that this project will contribute to the dismantling of the revolutionary process.

Malmierca Returns From Nonaligned Meeting

FL1102155992 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1000 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Text] Last night, Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca returned to our country from Cyprus where he attended the Nonaligned Movement ministerial meeting. In Nicosia, the capital of Cyprus, 55 delegations, 21 of which were headed by foreign ministers, participated in the standards and procedures committee meeting. During a conversation with reporters, Malmierca characterized the meeting as positive and described it as an expression of the will of the member countries to strengthen the Nonaligned Movement.

Havana Reports on Haitian Military Promotions

FL1102211692 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1255 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Text] Radio sources are reporting that the Haitian military coupists seem to be strengthening their hold on power by granting promotions among its major commands, and by acts of repression against politicians and deputies. The main Haitian radio stations announced the promotion of Michel Francois, an army major who participated in the coup that deposed President Jean-Bertrand Aristide on 30 September, to the rank of lieutenant colonel and chief of police of Port-au-Prince. The promotion of Francois is the latest in a series of promotions that, endorsed symbolically by interim President Joseph Neret who was designated by the coupists, places officials close to Lieutenant General Raoul Cedras, the leader of the coup, in the top ranks of the Haitian military hierarchy.

The same sources also reported that Alexander Medras, president of the Chamber of Deputies, protested the Thursday arrest in Cap-Haitian of Deputy Raphael Michel Adelson. Medras characterized Adelson's arrest as scandalous. Adelson had been accused by the soldiers of cocaine possession. Medras also pointed out that the rural policemen who murdered a deputy have not, however, been arrested, and believes that the armed forces are conducting a campaign against the members of parliament. He also denounced the fact that in northern Haiti, the house of another deputy was recently torched and burnt down.

Haiti remains in a state of constitutional illegitimacy, awaiting a compromise between the position of the coupists, who hold the real power, and the legislators, insidious in regard to the return of Aristide.

Appeals Hearing Begins for Tarara Convicts

FL1102183292 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1800 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Text] The Supreme People's Tribunal is sitting today for the appeals hearing for Case No. 3 of 1992, which was heard at the Havana City Provincial Tribunal for the crimes of murder and piracy. These actions occurred in

the early hours of 9 January at the Tarara Nautical Base. Three Interior Ministry soldiers were murdered and Sergeant Rolando Perez Quintosa, who was seriously wounded, is now hovering between life and death.

The Supreme People's Tribunal hearing began this morning in the Court for Crimes Against State Security. The writs of appeal submitted by Rene Salmeron Mendoza and by the government on behalf of Luis Miguel Almeida Perez are being heard. Both were sentenced to death by the Havana City Provincial Tribunal for the crimes of murder and piracy. This tribunal will rule on the writ of annulment through a hearing requested by Maria Mendoza Marrero, who cooperated in the commission of the acts and acted as a go-between for the perpetrators, for which she was sentenced by the Havana City Provincial Tribunal to 10 years in prison as an accomplice in piracy. The other defendants, except Enrique de la Rosa Guerra, have appealed through writs of annulment without asking for a hearing.

Cuban attorney general, Dr. Ramon de la Cruz Ochoa is acting as prosecutor in the hearing that began at 0900 today at the Supreme People's Tribunal for the appeal in Case No. 3 of 1992. Three defense lawyers are representing the accused; the two who are appealing the death sentences, and the one who asked for a hearing for his client. The hearing is being held with all procedural guarantees in place.

Camaguey Begins Second Vigiliance Exercise

FL1202024592 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 0000 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Text] A second exercise of the Unified Vigilance and Protection System began today in Camaguey with the theme: No One Will Prevail Against the People. Its main objective is to perfect and test different defense variables in the fight against crime. The exercise will also serve to promote the main tasks planned for the system, which include activating community sectors and key enterprises within the radius of action.

According to colleague Pedro Paneca Ruiz in his preliminary considerations on the Unified Vigilance and Protection System exercise, in order to achieve these goals, the integration of party and government organizations with the National Revolutionary Police sectors and defense zones is considered important and organized so as to raise operation efficiency day and night throughout the entire year.

Lazaro Vazquez Garcia, member of the Communist Party of Cuba [PCC] Central Committee and first secretary of the PCC in Camaguey, said that the system must help to increase production and improve distribution. Its top priority is to guarantee the tranquillity of the people. Additionally, he said a decisive push is planned for the revitalization of the workers' patrol at work centers in Camaguey as a genuine expression that no one will prevail against the people.

Eighth ANAP Congress Announced for May

FL1102223892 Havana Radio Peloj Network in Spanish 2056 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Text] Orlando Lugo Fonte, president of the National Association of Small Farmers [ANAP], has described the discussion process of the convocation of the eighth farmers congress as successful. The summons was announced in 172 community-based organizations in Matanzas Province.

More than 8,500 cooperative workers and farmers in the Matanzas Province thoroughly discussed the subjects covered in the convocation, and in the opinion of Lugo Fonte, they made suggestions that will help to improve the work of the ANAP.

Among the issues analyzed by the Mantanzas workers was the fight against illegal sales of agricultural products, the need to increase areas for self-sufficiency in the cooperatives, efforts to obtain maximum efficiency in sugarcane activities, and the changeable prices of some crops.

The eighth farmers congress is scheduled to be held next May. A feature of the event is that the expenses will be paid by the ANAP members.

Nickel Plant To Intensify Energy Reduction

FL1102190692 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1255 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Text] One of the main goals of the energy plan for 1992 of the Ernesto Che Guevara Enterprise is the reduction of the amount of fuel used to produce a ton of nickel and cobalt in comparison with last year, when the enterprise consumed 20.3 tons of oil for each ton of nickel produced. However, this year the enterprise is committed to reducing the average level to 18 tons, in other words, three tons less. Regarding the consumption of ammonia, which last year averaged 1.38 tons for each ton of nickel, the present goal is to use only 1.2 tons. In terms of electric power, 20.8 megawatts have been used for each ton of nickel and cobalt produced in previous years. As the poet said: It is an enormous, enormous figure. However, now the Ernesto Che Guevara Enterprise plans to reduce this figure to only 9.5 megawatts per ton.

I also wanted to mention in the "Doing Radio Program" a very interesting subject: Moa, is one of the most environmentally contaminated municipalities in our country, and the environment protection program for this year includes diverse projects aimed at reducing the contamination of the soil, rivers, sea, and air, which the industrial labor and process generates throughout the region.

In 1992, work will continue on the exhausted mines of the Ernesto Che Guevara to reforest them by planting hardwood-tree seedlings. While at the Pedro Soto Alba, the prospect of planting various grasses on the barren areas is being studied. Dams and embankments will have to be built in the two mines in order to avoid the danger

of erosion by water of thousands of tons of laterite that would contaminate water sources.

* Former Agent on Intelligence Activities

92CA0077A Milan PANORAMA in Italian 2 Feb 92 pp 84-85

[Interview with former intelligence agent Juan F. Benemellis by Valerio Riva; place and date not given—first two paragraphs are PANORAMA introduction]

[Text] "Is Fidel Castro, who has had his murderous opponent Diaz Betancourt shot, at the end of his rope? I do not think so. In my opinion he has never been as dangerous as now: more dangerous than Saddam Husayn, more dangerous than Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi. Certainly more dangerous than when the Soviet Union acted as a cork on the Cuban bottle. The cork has exploded and anything can come out of the Cuban bottle. Of course, Castro is now living through a time of the greatest vulnerability. He has two or three years of very deep crisis ahead of him, the worst of them all. But whether it may be a definitive crisis, that is another matter. I think he still has a good many possibilities for maneuvering...."

The person who is talking this way is one who knows what he is talking about: he is a former Cuban secret agent. His name is Juan F. Benemellis, 49 years of age, a kind of colossus mulatto, huge shoulders, two university degrees, and 20 years of service behind him. For more than 10 years the entire Cuban espionage network in Africa was under him. PANORAMA interviewed him.

[Riva] Why Africa?

[Benemellis] It was a decision I made as a child. I come from a working-class family. A friend of my father was a Cuban aviator, an antifascist who went to Ethiopia in 1936 to organize the little airforce of the Negus. His stories fascinated me. I had read Lawrence of Arabia.... So when I went to the university right after the revolution, I went into international law dreaming of going to Africa as a diplomat. I was given my wish: My first assignment was at the embassy in Ghana.

[Riva] Does Cuban espionage select its recruits from among the brightest university students, like the CIA does?

[Benemellis] No, the party makes the choice and those who are selected are sent either into diplomacy or into intelligence. I got into intelligence from diplomacy.

[Riva] Don't you think that after the communist regimes in East Europe, the Cuban one is about to fall?

[Benemellis] No, because the power structure in Cuba is very different from the one that existed in East Europe and the USSR. There power was based on the party and on the state bureaucracy. In Cuba, a real communist party—like the Polish, Czech, or Soviet ones—never existed. Power is exclusively based on Castro, on the Ministry of the Armed Forces, and on the Ministry of the Interior. It is a classical Latin American regime: a caudillo, the army above all the institutions, and the police that acts as watchdog. This gives the Cuban regime extraordinary flexibility. Just think how little time it took Castro 30 years ago to bring Cuba from capitalism to the Soviet bloc. Now he is trying with the same rapidity to take the reverse path.

[Riva] Is he going to succeed?

[Benemellis] It all depends. For the present his problems are economic, and the only ones who are putting political conditions on helping Cuba are the United States and the Latin American countries: first a democratic opening and then economic cooperation. But the countries of the European Community and Japan, Taiwan, India, Iran, and China have never put on any conditions. For the Europeans and the Asians, it is just a business question: clean or dirty, it does not matter to them.

[Riva] There is a foreign debt obstacle.

[Benemellis] The Cuban foreign debt consists of $8 billion to the West and $24 billion to the USSR. Castro has now declared, on his own authority, that since the USSR no longer exists, the Cuban debt to the USSR no longer exists either. He therefore still has to pay $8 billion dollars.... But absolutely all of it? The British Conservative government has recently completed a transaction with Cuba: The Cuban debt is going to be provisionally frozen and Britain will resume trading and making small investments in Cuba.

[Riva] There is still a U.S. embargo....

[Benemellis] The embargo has never really worked. Let us consider nickel. Cuba produces nickel. The Americans prohibit the importation of products that contain Cuban nickel. Three months ago Canada made a large purchase of Cuban nickel: 5,000 tons, that is to say, 12 percent of the total production of Cuba. It is obvious that part of this nickel will end up in the United States.

[Riva] But to survive Fidel must overcome two serious obstacles: food and energy shortages. Food and oil can only be bought with dollars....

[Benemellis] Not just with dollars. Let us take oil. Why did Castro make the choice he made at the time of the Gulf war to support Saddam Husayn, the only one in the whole world aside from South Yemen to do so, even more explicitly than al-Qadhdhafi, who wavered a great deal? Because of a simple payback.

[Riva] But if Saddam had been deposed or killed, what would Fidel have gained?

[Benemellis] Let us look at the thing from another perspective. If Saddam loses, Fidel has not lost anything. But if Saddam at least saves face, then Fidel gains a lot, because Saddam ends up with a debt to Fidel that he will have to pay one day or another, in oil. And then to

resolve its energy problems Cuba also has another possibility: the nuclear one. And it is working on it feverishly. Its two reactors in the Juragua power plant in the center-south of the country near Cienfuegos are almost ready. And here, too, dollars are not needed....

[Riva] How?

[Benemellis] There is Iran. Tehran had an agreement with China for the construction of its nuclear power plants. Under pressure from the Americans, China stopped furnishing nuclear technology, technicians, and know-how to the Iranians. Cuba offered to replace China. In exchange for Cuban technicians and know-how, Iran will pay in oil. After Mikhail Gorbachev, the Russians abandoned the project for a second nuclear power plant in Cuba and they are refusing to finish construction of the Juragua one itself unless it is paid for in dollars. But there are China, India, and Pakistan, who under particular conditions can replace the Russians; besides the new nuclear black market.

[Riva] Was Juragua constructed wholly with Soviet technology?

[Benemellis] Yes, except for a few British and Swedish components.

[Riva] Is it larger or smaller than Chernobyl?

[Benemellis] Much larger.

[Riva] Is it as dangerous as Chernobyl?

[Benemellis] It is more modern, so it is less dangerous. But Castro insisted that construction be done in the greatest hurry. And hurry can cause mistakes. Now that the Russians are no longer helping and Fidel Castro is being forced to get supplies on the clandestine nuclear market, there are no guarantees that international safety standards are being observed.

[Riva] Is Juragua used only to supply electric power or are there other ends?

[Benemellis] Every nuclear plant produces nuclear residues. These residues can, with technologies that are available to countries having even minimal industrial development, furnish uranium and plutonium: all the basic components of thermonuclear weapons. As long as the USSR existed, the Soviets had committed themselves to removing these residues from Cuban control and transporting them to the Soviet Union. Now Castro has under his control the nuclear residues too. Hence he can build a bomb for himself when he likes. And don't forget that some months ago, under an old agreement, Gorbachev supplied him with between 20 and 30 MiG-29's, fighter-bombers capable of carrying nuclear weapons.

[Riva] There is much talk about a nuclear black market supplied by former officers and officials of the Red Army who have turned themselves into traffickers. Do you think that Cuba is involved in this traffic?

[Benemellis] Yes, certainly. Cuba is very active at this time on three levels of trafficking: drugs, arms, and the nuclear area. Havana has always been a great center for international contraband, even before Fidel Castro. He has done nothing but continue to use the same men, the same organizations, and even the same old smuggling channels.

[Riva] Including the Mafia?

[Benemellis] Including the Mafia. Santo Trafficante, the boss of the Cuban Mafia in Batista's time, has worked for Castro.

[Riva] But wasn't Trafficante supposed to kill Fidel on orders of the CIA?

[Benemellis] He was supposed to. But then they made an agreement.

[Riva] How does Fidel Castro control all these intrigues?

[Benemellis] Through intelligence. Up to a short while ago the Cuban service was in third place in equipment and number of agents and operations in the standings of all the services in the world. As long as it existed, the KGB was first. Second, the CIA. Third, the Cuban service.

[Riva] Wasn't the Mossad in third place?

[Benemellis] The Mossad is very efficient but it has a limited theater of operations, while the Cuban service goes all over the world, from the China Sea to Puerto Rico, from the United States to Africa, from Latin America to Asia.

[Riva] In Europe too?

[Benemellis] At the end of the 1960's it was the Cubans who acted as middlemen between the German Red Army Faction, French and Italian terrorism, and the Palestinians. They set up training and supply camps in Jordan and Lebanon.

[Riva] How many former colleagues of yours are there?

[Benemellis] There are about 1,000 agents abroad. There are 600 to 700 in Latin America, 150 in Africa, and the rest in Europe and the rest of the world. There are more than 4,000 in Cuba; they supply training and information systems.

[Riva] Aren't you afraid of your former colleagues?

[Benemellis] Of course. But only up to a certain point. When I decided to flee to the United States I underwent a long debriefing by the Americans and then I began to earn a living by giving lectures in the universities. I wrote three books: one on Cuban subversion in Africa, one on the General Ochoa trial, and one on Castro after Gorbachev. I am now finishing a fourth book on the dirty hands of the Cubans in international terrorism and in Latin America, Africa, and Europe.

[Riva] Do you feel like a traitor?

[Benemellis] No. I have been an analyst all my life. I will continue to be one. With respect for the truth.

Grenada

Finance Minister Brizan Presents 1992 Budget

FL1102122892 Bridgetown CANA in English 2318 GMT 10 Feb 92

[By Richard Simon]

[Text] St. George's, Grenada, Feb 10, CANA—Grenada's Finance Minister George Brizan on Monday presented a 229 million dollar (one EC dollar = 37 cents U.S.) budget for the 1992 fiscal year. Central elements of the budget, down by 39 million dollars on last year's estimates, were a restructuring of existing taxes, a reduction of the public service payroll, and a call for increased production.

The 1992 budget calls for a recurrent expenditure of 177 million dollars and a capital expenditure of 52 million dollars. Revenue was projected at 171 million dollars. The capital budget will be financed mainly through foreign grants and loans. The government expects 26.5 million dollars in grants, and 14 million dollars in loans. The remainder will come from local sources.

Brizan said the budget, marking the introduction of a three-year structural adjustment programme, was designed to correct Grenada's fiscal problems and reverse Grenada's uncreditworthiness with multilateral lending agencies.

"Unless the government takes timely action to cure Grenada's fiscal bills, the IMF (International Monetary Fund) will have to come in and try to do it for us....," Brizan said. Government is pursuing the structural adjustment programme without the direct IMF involvement.

Four of the five opposition parliamentarians in the House of Representatives walked out as Brizan was presenting the budget. They wanted a two week postponement of the budget to facilitate detailed study of the document.

Brizan announced a reduction of Value Added Tax (VAT) from 30 to 27.5 percent on most items, excluding fuels, jewellery, motor vehicles, and some other items. At the same time, he imposed a 5 per cent VAT on basic foods, including rice, sugar, flour, and chicken parts, which previously were exempted.

With the abolition of income tax in 1906 [year as received], VAT was introduced as the backbone of Grenada's tax system. The national debt service levy, deducted from incomes to help clear off Grenada's debts, was restructured to increase yields to 9.3 million dollars from 4 million dollars last year. The levy previously applied to incomes above 12,000 dollars per annum. The revamped levy introduces a three-tier system which covers all persons earning above 833 dollars a month.

Brizan announced reductions in property tax, a surcharge on imports, and a foreign exchange tax, as well as the abolition of stamp tax and "other nuisance and professional taxes." These were replaced by a trade license. Brizan also announced the setting up of a capital investment fund to be financed by monies earned from the sale of the government-owned Central Garage Corporation (CGC), the sale of the government's 49 percent shares in the Grenada Electricity Company (Grenlec), and its 67 percent shares in the National Commercial Bank (NCB).

Major slices of the recurrent budget went to education, EC 34.8 million dollars; communications and works, EC 34.6 million dollars; public debt servicing, 28.6 million dollars; health, 26.8 million dollars; communications and works, 22 million dollars; and agriculture, 13 million dollars.

Haiti

Nicaragua's Tomas Borge Interviews Aristide

PA1202001892 Panama City EL SIGLO in Spanish 10 Feb 92 pp 46, 47, 48

["Exclusive" interview for EL SIGLO with former Haitian President Jean- Bertrand Aristide by former Nicaraguan Interior Minister Tomas Borge in Cochabamba, Bolivia; date not given]

[Text] [Borge] If there is one thing that convinces me the world is not in decline, it is this myopic and sweet young man, a strange mixture of Saint Francis of Assisi and Marat, whom I met in Cochabamba, Bolivia, and who, after three hours of conversation, renewed my faith in human beings.

Father Jean-Bertrand Aristide is ahead of his time, within this great wave of men who seek social change not solely on the basis of politics. Certainly this man of God and men is not fully aware of being a new type of prophet.

Even if he does not return to the Haitian presidency, from which he was stripped during a savage military coup on 30 September 1991, Aristide is a winner. His ethical position shows a future that awaits the end of the millenium.

I am convinced that future revolutions will be founded more on moral than political issues. The social process led by this priest of humane and kind programs announces, without fanfare, other victorious marches. Here is our conversation:

In February 1991 you headed the first popular government in Latin America following the Cold War. What were your keys to success?

[Aristide] For a long time the Haitian people have distrusted traditional politics. It has always been used to carry out electoral farces. Furthermore, the traditional church preached in a language that was removed from the country's reality. It is liberation theology that has had an impact on the people's consciences over the past few years. It has helped the people to release themselves, to grasp their maturity through political and theological reflection.

Since Duvalier left in 1986, a country that is increasingly committed to the effort to claim its rights has burst on the scene. Since the people lost confidence in the elections, the alternative was a revolution capable of changing the structures of exploitation. When politicians spoke about elections between 1986 and 1990, I rejected elections. I saw in them an instrument of deceit, and I accused the criminals who organized them. I was asking for justice, and my critical discernment brought the people's awareness to maturity.

The elections were scheduled for 16 November 1990. It was not until 18 October that I officially decided to participate. Everything was very clear: the people were faced with the option of the Tonton Macoutes, of the criminal politicians. I told the people: If I run in the elections, it will be to win; if I abstain, it will be to demolish them. If we all go together in the same direction, like an avalanche, it will be possible to stop the assassins.

The enemy had a candidate fabricated in a foreign laboratory; he was wealthy enough in dollars to purchase consciences. I had to topple that enemy with the weapon of preaching morality. The people decided to march alongside their candidate.

[Borge] Do you believe your ethical proposal had an effect on your electoral victory?

[Aristide] Yes. Mine was, before all else, an ethical revolution. The people discovered the lies and the dirty tricks of the small political groups. They exposed the individuals who made ridicule a lifestyle. They became aware of their own intelligence. They rejected the lack of respect shown for the human being, and they rejected lies as a fundamental value. The people learned that they were worth much more than money and came to abhor the brokers of consciences.

[Borge] It has been suggested that the events in Haiti may have an impact on Latin America and the Caribbean similar to that of the Mexican, Cuban, and Nicaraguan revolutions. Were you aware you were playing such an historical role?

[Aristide] Yes, those great historical movements are a source of inspiration and happiness. In those countries, it has been proven that man is more beautiful and complete when he is standing and not kneeling in front of another power. In Haiti we have often discussed Nicaragua's experience in a theological light. In the Nicaraguan revolution, we find men and women who have faith in themselves, their people, their land, and the God of freedom, who is in man and who struggles for man. I am talking about Miguel D'Escoto, Fernando Cardenal, Ernesto Cardenal, and so many Christians who, alongside the Sandinists, conducted the revolution. Nicaragua has been a point of reference for us, even though its cardinal, Miguel Obando y Bravo, has done the opposite of what I believe his work as a pastor should be. In Haiti we also have a bishop who is playing a role very similar to Obando y Bravo's role. From all of them, we have learned which paths are the stray ones. Therefore, we share similarities, although we know that one revolution is not a photocopy of another. I speak this way about Nicaragua, although I cannot speak in the same way about Cuba. Until today, we have not had any relations with that country. In general terms, we try not to maintain relationships that could later be used against us.

[Borge] Despite all of your caution, there were excuses to stage a coup d'etat against you.

[Aristide] Of course. They say I have sent youths to study in Cuba to later form a revolutionary army. I laugh at those things; I knew they would happen. Despite my admiration for the Cuban people, I believe it would not be advantageous at present to establish diplomatic relations. We do have several students in Mexico who are engaged in social, political, and anthropological studies.

[Borge] During the seven and one-half months—an extremely brief period—you held office, what were your major accomplishments?

[Aristide] Justice, honesty, and participation. When I say justice, I mean limitless justice. When structures are rotten, they must be changed. Corruption is the highest form of injustice, and one cannot live without justice. One cannot talk about justice without a literacy campaign. A literacy campaign is essential to progress in the economy, which in turn must be decentralized. There must be honesty, so that citizens can know what is being done with their money. Any government employee, starting with me, must say what he is doing. Honesty in everything, justice for all, and the participation of all were the three pillars of my policy.

[Borge] Those are lovely premises, but on 30 September, the first military coup, following the era of national security, ended your government. What were the fundamental causes of this coup?

[Aristide] I like the picture of a table where there is a minority and the poor, which make up 85 percent of the population. A majority that does not know how to read or write cannot exercise its right to our daily bread. Without agrarian reform, how can they eat? They are a majority that does not want to remain there and has struggled to clean the table, but those above them have always used weapons to exploit them. Since our independence in 1804, this minority has always used the Army to topple governments and fabricate dictatorships. They

describe this as military tradition. That Army was consolidated in 1915 during the U.S. invasion. Since then, it has become an occupation army that has the coup virus in its blood.

[Borge] President Aristide, is there someone behind the coupist soldiers?

[Aristide] Yes. On 7 February I proposed the celebration of a historical wedding between the military and Haitian people, and for seven months the Army struggled against drugs and contraband. However, the illness is marked by fatal cyclical crises, and there has been a return to drug trafficking and illegal activities.

[Borge] Who is General Raoul Cedras? I understand he was one of the young officers promoted by your government.

[Aristide] On 17 February I retired the generals who formed the Army's General Staff, except the commander in chief. According to the military hierarchy, it was Cedras' turn for a promotion because his class was next in line and he was the first. I made him a general, and he became the number three man in the Army. I later retired the two generals who were ahead of him and put him where he is today. Cedras has closed ranks with the group that is on top of the table; he also was contaminated with the coup virus.

[Borge] Have the Tonton Macoutes been reorganized?

[Aristide] Most of the Tonton Macoutes were in the Dominican Republic or in jail charged with criminal activities or drug trafficking. On the day of the coup, while a prisoner at the general headquarters, I saw them arrive one after the other. I especially recall Isidore Pomgnon, a former Army major, who later led the repression.

[Borge] The appointment of Judge Joseph Nerotto to occupy your place has been considered an attempt to "institutionalize" the coup. To what point has this been accomplished?

[Aristide] That only makes sense to the coupists. At least it has served to reveal who in parliament does not favor me. For me it is important to know this. In essence, all of that is illegal.

[Borge] What is the difference between Duvalier's fall and the events that led to the coup d'etat against you?

[Aristide] Duvalier left the country on 5 February 1986, and there was neither an international embargo nor 1,000 deaths in less than two weeks, as is the case now. The same thing happened with Namphy and later with Avril. This means there was an invisible hand behind it all. It was not the Haitian people who decided it, even though the people fought against them and would have defeated them in the end, but an invisible hand was used to neutralize the people's struggle. Things cannot be the same today.

[Borge] Do you support the use of military force led by the OAS in Haiti?

[Aristide] No. We believe the basis of the resistance should be the people's revolt. The peaceful resistance of the people is likewise an expression of the revolt. Today Haiti is a paralyzed country because the people are standing up and resisting in a wonderful manner. The international community must decide who is right. The events will reveal who is right, and the decision will be in our favor.

[Borge] Do you believe the OAS economic embargo will lead to the ouster of the coupists from power?

[Aristide] I believe the embargo could force the coupists to negotiate. This could only happen if a few are willing to do all they can to make the embargo a complete success. For example, Mexico and Venezuela are not giving more oil, but there are possibilities to buy oil at the unofficial market. Who is going to stop oil ships headed for Haiti, given the case? Who can stop them? Who is capable of doing this?

[Borge] Are you referring to the United States?

[Aristide] I am referring to them also. If those who can stop the ship are not really committed to doing it, of course the embargo will not be successful. We need a few more hours, a few more days of firmness. I do not think it will take weeks or months. I must ask myself: Why did the Moscow coup last three days, and the Haitian coup is already a few months old? Why were only 10 people killed in Moscow, while over 1,000 were killed in Haiti in less than two weeks? What is the difference? We have international solidarity, but it does not have the same effect in our case. Even though, in the political context, we have been unable to harvest our crops, we have been harvesting the truth in the anthropological field.

[Borge] The Cuban Government has been the object of an economic blockade for over 30 years. What is the difference between one and the other?

[Aristide] The blockade against Cuba is a wound that crisscrosses the entire country: the people, the government, everyone. The blockade against Haiti can only adversely affect the coupists. In fact, 1,500 clergymen, along with priests, have said yes to the blockade. The poor in our country have lived under an embargo that has lasted over 200 years. This means we have been under the table without being able to exercise our rights. If the blockade overthrows the coupists because there is no oil, we welcome it. As for Cuba, it is not the same situation, because there we have a government that identifies with the people.

[Borge] Does your country's Catholic hierarchy support you?

[Aristide] Officially, it is not opposed to me, but that remains to be seen in practice. Monsignor Omelis, who has always defended the poor and lives his faith by loving the country, supports us. That is not the case of

the bishops who direct Radio Soleil, the mouthpiece of the Haitian Bishops' Conference, as it voiced opposition to my government. If the hierarchy supports me, how is one to understand that its radio sides with the coupists? The truth will also come out soon in this respect.

[Borge] What steps will you take?

[Aristide] First of all, I will try to make the embargo work. The international community can achieve this, especially if some of its outstanding leaders want it that way. The criminals will have to negotiate. They have attacked mankind and dealt democracy a mortal blow. Justice cannot accept that those who killed over 1,000 people remain where they are now.

[Borge] What if that does not succeed? Despite your views on a peaceful struggle, would you be able to lead an armed struggle?

[Aristide] Nicaragua had to take up arms for its revolution, and it was a historically correct response. As for Haiti, it is a different situation, which I think calls for a different response. I am not going to ask for a solution other than the one I have already asked for, namely, the force of the embargo. If that fails, the OAS fails.

[Borge] Some are talking about a democratic normalization in Haiti without Aristide's return. What do you think about that?

[Aristide] I must say that, when I talk about myself, I do not do so out of false humility or pride, but as an expression of objective fact. Beyond me, we have an elected person and that elected person is now called Aristide. We cannot now talk of any kind of democratic normalization in Haiti without the presence of the elected person.

[Borge] It is said that the revolutionary movement has broken down since the start of the collapse of the so-called real socialist world. How do you feel about that?

[Aristide] There is a critical current that runs through the critical conscience of the continent, more so than in the rest of the world. It seems to me that a revolution can take the form of democratic solidarity, taking a clear stance as a bloc regarding minorities. I mean minorities that still hold power with their money and weapons but are not as strong as before. That process of maturity is growing every day, and it draws our people closer. The human and ethical revolution is making progress and will give us a continental strength that will be stronger than weapons and money.

[Borge] Do you think that, at this time, revolutionaries must renounce the word imperialism?

[Aristide] I think there are possibilities for those of us who are striving to change the core of reality and change tactics. I have no problem talking to imperialists in a respectful manner, with dignity.

[Borge] Are you referring to Bush?

[Aristide] No, I am referring to imperialism as a concept that throughout time may have such a face or such a name. I have no problem meeting with, talking to, or listening to Bush. It suffices to have clear principles and mutual respect.

There is much talk now of democracy, which consists of respecting human rights. Every time he and I decide we are going to respect them, it does not bother me if the world knows what we said or are doing. It does bother me when words are not translated into actions. I feel capable of using clear words in the face of imperialism, because we did have problems on a dialectical level; it was a language problem.

In Haiti's case, there are some who, acting on an imperialist reflex, feel they must oppose us to prevent another Cuba. We say no. We have the freedom to conduct a pacifist struggle, as we are doing, so that others may have bread, justice, and land. In this respect, we gather around the table. We have no problems if someone wants to help us to carry this plan forward. The problem begins when someone opposes the plan.

[Borge] What repercussions do you think developments in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe have for the Third World?

[Aristide] The shape of the bipolar world is changing rapidly. The Berlin Wall, which did not let us see another fundamental wall, the exploitation of the South by the North, collapsed. The danger now is of a unipolar world, the concentration of power that unless used correctly will force us to bow. Now, however, the possibilities for growing and striving for the respect of human rights are greater. Man cannot accept having his rights trampled on without raising his head. Man has to raise his head but not to fight against a group that has crystallized into the planet's only pole. He has to defend his rights and become democratically organized so his rights cannot be snatched away or trampled on. It seems to me that a great force of unity is rising among the peoples to prevent the existence of two worlds, quote unquote. In sum, the international community is more and more concerned about defending its rights, and that is fundamental.

[Borge] Do you think Haiti can someday achieve development under a capitalist regime?

[Aristide] Allow me to answer with an allegory about a man and his pregnant girlfriend. Instead of arguing about whether or not to get married or about the child's name, they should begin to try to live in harmony. The important thing is for the child to be born healthy. If the baby has the organs indispensable for growth and development, what does it matter if he is called Joseph or John? The essential thing is to have everything to live and that all have bread, respect, work, and justice. That is the new Haiti that must be born out of this process.

[Borge] Some Latin American leaders say that liberalism is not viable in your country. What is your opinion?

[Aristide] Sometimes the enemies of democracy use certain terms to pin a label on you. Do not ask me if I am a leftist or a rightist but whether I side with or oppose my country's corrupt right. Our enemies are using those concepts—and I do not doubt their value—to label us. I am not afraid to say who I am, because what I am doing is the best definition. It seems to me there is no time to say what one understands by neoliberalism or socialism.

[Borge] How do you assess the meeting of Latin American presidents that took place in Mexico?

[Aristide] The information that I have gotten, especially from conversations with some of the participants, leads me to believe something good came out of the meeting: dialogue. Now one may achieve many things through dialogue. There is the example of the USSR and the United States of America, the two great enemies who shook hands and talked to each other. It cannot be said that dialogue reflects the aspirations of all the citizens of the world, but I believe that instead of talking with arms, it is better to communicate through dialogue. That is why I believe in presidential meetings—with or without U.S. permission. Such meetings only make sense when the participants are independent.

[Borge] It was the first time the region's presidents met without U.S. permission.

[Aristide] I will go a bit further. To meet without U.S. permission is good, but to meet with the United States would be better. When we all act according to the principles of human rights and democracy, I believe there will be potential for dialogue. I do not want to defend Bush, but if we compare his policies to those of the previous two or three years, we see the balance is favorable.

[Borge] How would you define yourself? What other feelings do you have inside that go beyond what is already known?

[Aristide] What I like is the concept of man, and when I say man I also mean woman. When I experience them in love, and through friendship and service, I feel happy. I studied psychology because that science puts me in contact with human beings, enables me to better understand them and to better love them. The more I feel that I am in love with human beings, and the more I experience that love, that is when I better experience my own growth.

[Borge] You have a special relationship to music, do you not?

[Aristide] Music interests me very much. There was a time when I played six or seven instruments. I even recorded an album of songs that I composed for the church. I did not do all of that as a priest; I did it for love, for friendship, for solidarity, and as a testimony of brotherhood. That is the instrument that leads me to vibrate alongside it, to share its poverty, to make its poverty my poverty. If somebody does not know how to read, then I do not know how to read; if somebody does not have bread, then I do not have breed. My faith is the vibration that is found in that communion, in that expression of human love. This is why I have no difficulty in experiencing communion with God, whom I do not look for in heaven because he is in every human being.

[Borge] Do you love silence?

[Aristide] Only to pray and to think about transcendental matters. It is like getting oxygen; it helps me to be better and to be closer to people. When I feel physically better, I am in harmony with human beings. All the philosophy I love arises from that harmony; the philosophy of the pluralistic man, of the multiple man, of the man without boundaries. If a man is experiencing hunger or is fighting for his freedom, then I feel involved. I feel something like a vibration passing through my body, and I feel happy.

[Borge] Would you like to say something more?

[Aristide] I love human beings.

Arbitration Committee To Publish Report

FL1102215192 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 1145 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Text] The Haitian Senate is considering publishing today the report on talks conducted with the Haitian political class last week. The Senate also contemplates resuming negotiations on the political crisis. An explanation is provided by Rothchild Francois, Jr.

[Begin Francois recording] A resumption of talks aimed at finding a solution to the Haitian crisis is being considered. Recommendations on that score could be announced this week by the Senate of the Republic. The Senate Arbitration Committee, in charge of this project, must present its report Tuesday before the National Assembly. This group, comprised of three senators, held consultations with important sectors of the national life about a possible way out of the crisis.

According to parliamentary sources, the Senate committee will opt for a new round of negotiations. The goal will be the establishment of an agreement protocol between the parliament and Father Aristide, with the participation of the OAS as a witness. This agreement will include the establishment of a ratification procedure. The choice of a new prime minister will stem from a conference of the various parties represented in the chamber. The parliamentary sources also advised that a new agenda, concerning meetings on the crisis, should be communicated to the OAS this week if the senators approve the recommendations of the committee. This Tuesday's Senate session looks promising, but everything will, of course, depend on the senators. Achieving a quorum in the upper chamber has been a matter of some difficulty recently. The sessions sometimes begin as late as at 1400 or 1500 or are simply postponed due to a lack of senators.

The Chamber of Deputies has maintained silence on the work of the special committee in charge of making suggestions to solve the crisis.

During sessions in the Legislative Chamber, the word marooning has become more and more fashionable. Deputies and senators direct shafts against colleagues who are very rarely present when their names are called out. The parliamentarians acknowledge that they regularly receive their monthly salaries, $5,000 for senators and $4,000 for deputies. [end recording]

Report Issued

FL1102223992 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 1900 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Text] The Senate Arbitration Committee publicly issued its report on 11 February regarding recent two-week discussions with the Haitian political sector.

According to some parliamentary sources, the Senate Arbitration Committee, composed of three senators, favors a new round of negotiations. A draft treaty must be drawn up by the parliament and President Aristide in exile, with the OAS as witness.

Anti-Torture Group Cancels CHADEL Membership

FL1102230192 Port-au-Prince Radio Soleil Network in Creole 1930 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Text] Delegates from the World Organization Against Torture [OMCT], in a general assembly meeting held in Manila on 6 to 10 December 1991, decided not to convert the temporary three-year affiliation granted to CHADEL [Haitian Center for the Defense of Public Freedom] into a permanent affiliation.

This decision cancels CHADEL's status as a member of the organization. In a letter to new CHADEL Executive Director Rene Dubois, dated 13 January, OMCT Director Eric Sota specified the reasons that prompted the organization to make such a decision.

OMCT reproached CHADEL for distancing itself from the policies of Jean-Jacques Honorat, founder of the organization and a former fierce defender of human rights, and for currently serving a brutal and illegitimate power. OMCT stated in the letter that the October CHADEL bulletin had not carefully enough handled its criticism of those who condemn the overthrow of the legitimate power elected by the people, and those who refuse to work with the authorities out of duty.

Delegation To Attend Economic Community Meeting

FL1102224092 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 1500 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Text] A Haitian parliamentary delegation, composed of three deputies and three senators, will participate in the joint Africa, Caribbean, and the Pacific-EEC assembly that will take place in Santo Domingo from 17 to 21 February. The mission of this delegation is to obtain support for Haiti among the member countries of the Lome Convention. Guy Bauduy, Jacques Rony Mondestin, and Turneb Delpe will represent the upper chamber in the parliamentary delegation that will include Deputies Antoine Joseph, Eric Lamothe, and Edmonde Supplice Beauzil.

It should be pointed out that ousted President Jean-Bertrand Aristide has also been invited to participate in that meeting. Dominican ambassador in Port-au-Prince, Jose del Carmel Acosta, deems that invitation inappropriate and thinks it could negatively influence current negotiations on the Haitian crisis.

Belize

Cuba Offers Assistance With Sugar Industry

FL1202013092 Bridgetown CANA in English 2005 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Text] Belmopan, Belize, Feb 11, CANA—Cuba has offered Belize help for its sugar industry, following an agreement last week by the two countries to establish consular and commercial relations, the government announced.

The agreement was signed February 7 in Havana by visiting Belize Deputy Prime Minister Florencio Marin and Cuban Vice President Dr. Carlos Rafael Rodriguez. The agreement came at the end of a week-long visit to Cuba by a six-member Belize delegation, including officials from the Cane Farmer's Association.

The Belize information service said talks were held with Cuban Sugar Minister Juan Herera Machado on how Cuba, with its advanced agricultural technology, could assist Belize to develop sugarcane by-products. These could include cattle feed, paper, compressed boards, bricks, and vitamin tablets which are all currently manufactured in Cuba.

Deputy Prime Minister Marin said Belize could offer scholarships to Cuban students who wanted to study English. A Cuban medical team of doctors and nurses is currently working in Belize.

Nicaragua

Recontra Leader Moran, 200 Men Surrender Rifles

PA1102214292 Managua Radio Nicaragua Network in Spanish 1100 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Text] Residents of Las Brumas, Jinotega Department, on 10 February witnessed one of our fatherland's most important historic events in this new era of democracy and reconciliation. Jose Angel Moran, alias El Indomable, and his 200 men handed over their rifles during a simple ceremony held in Las Brumas mayor's office. Attending the ceremony as special guests were Monsignor Eli Montenegro, Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo's representative at the talks with the armed groups; Santiago Murray, chief of the OAS International Commission of Support and Verification mission in Nicaragua; cabinet members; and others.

Msgr. Montenegro stated that Jose Angel Moran's demobilization constitutes another step in Nicaraguans' struggle to build peace and the fatherland. Confident the armed agreements will be kept, I am surrendering my rifle, Jose Angel Moran said. His men also surrendered their weapons. I am handing over my rifle for the sake of peace in Nicaragua and, most of all, for the sake of the long-suffering people of Jinotega, who have seen many of their sons die in this war, Moran said.

[Begin Moran recording] Due to the good work done by Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo's Verification Commission, and because he deserves my full confidence, I signed the peace agreement, or the disarmament agreement. [words indistinct] I am Catholic and I trust in Cardinal Obando y Bravo's Verification Commission. That is why I wanted to come to the people of Jinotega Department because they have made so many sacrifices to attain peace in Nicaragua. So many people were killed. So many people lost their homes and their parents. So many people were wounded. So many parents lost their children. So many women lost their children and husbands. I think that has been the worst tragedy. For the benefit and welfare of the young people of Nicaragua, chiefly those in Jinotega, I am surrendering my rifle to Msgr. Eli Montenegro in the presence of Government Minister Carlos Hurtado and [word indistinct] Jinotega. [end recording]

Recompas To Maintain 'Select' Reserve Force

PA1102161592 Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 10 Feb 92 pp 1, 16

[Report by Guillermo Cortes Dominguez]

[Excerpt] Ducuali, Esteli—The recompas have reiterated that they will keep in reserve a select force, an elite column made up of their best fighters. The group will be the last group to disband after the most important recontra groups have disbanded.

The recompas, however, have expressed "their goodwill" to continue the demobilization process. On 9 February a well-equipped contingent of combative students and workers of Esteli, as well as farmers and peasants from surrounding areas, turned over their weapons.

Approximately 400 recompas demobilized and turned over their weapons, which were in good condition. By contrast, the rifles delivered by 52 recontras were in very poor shape. According to an expert from the Special Disarmament Brigade (BED), "Many weapons were not functioning."

Another group of 94 recontras headed by "Chele-Rafael" demobilized on 9 February in Quilali because they could not travel to Ducuali. [passage omitted]

Panama

Assembly President on Herrera's Plot Involvement

PA1102173892 Panama City CRITICA LIBRE in Spanish 11 Feb 92 pp 1, 26

[By Roberto Cubilla]

[Text] Legislative Assembly President Marco Ameglio said on 10 February that it is unacceptable that Colonel Eduardo Herrera, retired, has planned a coup d'etat "from his own home and under the authorities' very

noses." Ameglio demanded that the government provide the whole story on the details of the investigation.

Ameglio pointed out that government leaders have the opportunity to inform the people of the details of the alleged plan to overthrow President Endara. He warned that the authorities who conduct such investigations have lost their credibility.

Legislator Ameglio, who represents the Authentic Liberal Party, stated, "It is very strange that under the current democratic government, Col. Eduardo Herrera has been implicated three times for plans of this nature." Ameglio went on to say that if persons are truly involved in such plans, the appropriate authorities should take action to convict them. He said it must not be constantly repeated that there are coupist movements, "because it would then appear as if these charges are not serious."

Regarding the way in which investigating authorities have handled the case, the Legislative Assembly president stated, "It is not serious or fair to lie to the people or to give them unofficial information." He stressed that this is a serious and dangerous case for the country, so it must be fully explained to the people.

Ameglio said the authorities should speak loud and clear and fully explain what is going on so the community can be sure about the authorities' honesty and so there is tranquility among the productive sectors and the international community. That will prevent Panamanians from losing faith in the authorities, Ameglio concluded.

Former Military Officer on Country's Defense

PA1102194192 Panama City LA ESTRELLA DE PANAMA in Spanish 9 Feb 92 p C-10

[Article by Former Panama Defense Forces, FDP, Colonel Daniel Delgado Diamante]

[Text] A. Background

As a result of the military invasion of Panama by the U.S. Armed Forces in December 1989, the Panamanian military institution—the Panama Defense Forces [FDP]—were dismantled, its military units dissolved, and its police forces restructured into an institution called National Police. Other FDP components, such as the Air Force and the National Navy, were transformed into the Air Service and the Sea Service, respectively. These organizations no longer play a military role in the country. At present, military missions are carried out by the U.S. Armed Forces, in line with recent "administrative" agreements signed by the United States and Panamanian Governments, with or without open consent from the Panamanian Government. The presence of U.S. military elements in the government and in society is evident. It represents a new form of militarization in the country, but this does not represent any kind of security for the Panamanians.

As a result of this situation, and in spite of the time that has gone by, there is no public security policy in Panama capable of guaranteeing a minimum of security for citizens or protection of the national territory or national sovereignty. These are attributes of all states. Likewise, the absence of such a policy and the lack of a basic Panamanian military structure prevent our country from fulfilling international treaties such as the 1977 Panama Canal Treaties, which establish, in Article IV, Panama's responsibility to defend and protect the Canal in a combined and joint fashion until the last day of 1999, and, exclusively, as of the first day of the year 2000.

B. Analysis:

1. In the 1977 Panama Canal Treaties, better known as the Torrijos-Carter Treaties, Paragraph 1 of Article IV on Protection and Defense, establishes:

The Republic of Panama and the United States of America **commit themselves to protect and defend** the Panama Canal. Each party, based on their constitutional procedures, will adopt measures to face any armed attack or other actions that may threaten the security of the Panama Canal or of ships in transit through the canal. (The boldface type is ours)

This means that, based on the treaties, Panama has the responsibility of participating in the protection and defense of the canal. While it is true that Paragraph 2 of the same article grants the United States primary responsibility for that protection and defense, Panama is obligated to participate in line with its commitment.

2. Paragraph 3 of Article IV of the Panama Canal Treaty establishes:

To facilitate the **participation** and cooperation of **both Armed Forces** in the protection and defense of the Canal, the Republic of Panama and the United States of America will establish a **Combined Board** composed of an equal number of **high-ranking military representatives from each party.** These representatives will hold consultations and cooperate in all matters related to the protection and defense of the canal and will plan the measures that should be adopted **by agreement for that purpose.** Such agreements on the **combined** protection and defense of the canal will not place restrictions on the identity or on the command lines of the **Armed Forces of the Republic of Panama** or of the United States. The Combined Board will be in charge of matters such as:

a) Drafting contingency plans for the protection and defense of the canal based on **cooperation by the Armed Forces of the two countries;**

b) Planning and carrying out **combined military exercises.**

c) Carrying out **Panamanian** and U.S. **military operations** for the protection and defense of the canal.

3. Article IV is very clear. First, it establishes that the U.S. military presence in Panamanian territory is for the sole purpose of protecting and defending the canal.

Second, it establishes that such protection and defense must be carried out by military personnel from the two countries, with the United States having primary responsibility. However, on 25 January 1990, in an exchange of notes, the Panamanian Government appointed the director of the Panama Treaty Affairs Executive Directorate [DEPAT], a civilian, Panama's representative to that board. His participation in that board, if there is any participation, would not be anything but decorative, precisely because he is not in the military, contrary to what the treaties establish. Third, the article establishes that activities related to protection and defense will be carried out with the participation of the Armed Forces of the two countries. From this it can be inferred that Panama will have land, air, and sea armed units to fulfill the commitments listed here. At this time, Panama does not have these forces. The article also establishes the mechanisms for participation and cooperation in the protection and defense of the canal through the Combined Board.

4. All the regulations on this relationship are included in the Agreement for the Implementation of Article IV, better known as the Armed Forces Statute, or SOFA. This statute stipulates the rights, responsibilities, and principles that govern the U.S. military presence in Panama and form part of the treaties. As can clearly be seen in the preamble, this article outlines the role of the U.S. military in Panama regarding defense and protection. The article reads: The Republic of Panama shall permit the United States to use certain portions of its territory for the protection and defense of the Panama Canal **with the participation of the Panamanian Armed Forces,** as established in Article IV of the Panama Canal Treaties signed on this date. (The boldface type is ours)

5. In addition, Article V of the treaty dealing with the permanent neutrality and operation of the canal establishes the commitment and responsibility of the Republic of Panama in maintaining this neutrality. The article reads: After the Panama Canal Treaties expire, **only the Republic of Panama will manage the Canal and maintain military forces, defense sites, and military installations** in the national territory. (The boldface type is ours)

Condition 2 of the U.S. Instrument for the Ratification of the Panama Canal Treaties contemplates the possibility of the two countries signing agreements on stationing U.S. military forces and maintaining defense sites operated by these forces. This is the pertinent portion of the instrument. "Nothing in these treaties will keep the Republic of Panama or the United States of America, according to their respective constitutional procedures, from signing any agreements or making any arrangements to facilitate, any time after 31 December 1999, compliance with their responsibilities to maintain the neutrality called for by the treaties. Such arrangements can be made for stationing any U.S. military forces or maintaining any defense sites in the Republic of Panama after this date, which the Republic of Panama and the United States might consider necessary and appropriate."

Despite this, the basic point here is that Panama pledged to keep the canal neutral as of the year 2000, and Panama cannot relinquish this pledge without openly violating the treaties, harming the canal's neutrality, and violating Article 26 of the Vienna Convention on the legality of the 1959 treaties. According to this article, "Every treaty in force binds the sides and must be complied with in good faith."

Article 53 of the same Vienna Convention stipulates the following: "For the purposes of this convention, an imperative international law standard is accepted and recognized by the international community of states as a standard that does not admit opposition and that can be modified only by an ulterior general international law standard of the same nature."

This is but the application of the international public law principle known as **jus cogen, pacta sum servanda;** that is to say, the treaties must be complied with in the same form as they were signed.

Similarly, not relying on Panamanian military forces to protect and defend the canal and keep it neutral, although this might stem from constitutional reforms on the matter, would also represent a violation of the Convention, whose Article 27 states: "None of the sides shall invoke its internal law provisions to justify its nonfulfillment of a treaty."

6. The demilitarization concept has been used as the basic argument to validate the constitutional reforms aimed at proscribing the existence of an army in the Republic of Panama, as it can be inferred from Legislation 1 of 26 December 1991. Under Title XII, National Defense and Public Security, Article 305 of the Constitution states: National defense and public security fall under the responsibility of a professional institution called the National Guard, which is attached to the executive and whose actions will be subject to the Constitution and bylaws. At no time will the National Guard participate in party politics, except when its members cast their votes.

Nevertheless, demilitarization should be considered a way to eliminate the participation of the military in political and governmental activities. This participation should be limited exclusively to the protection and defense duties assigned to the military by the Constitution and bylaws. Achieving this objective does not necessarily imply the proscription of these military forces. Such a proscription entails relinquishing one of the attributes of every state and preserving its sovereignty and territorial integrity, in other words, its national defense.

C. Current Security Policies:

1. The national government—through the Government and Justice Ministry—has privatized security services in the vital installations of the industrial, commercial, banking, and residential sectors by authorizing an endless number of private security companies. These companies—although it is true they have made efforts to fulfill their responsibility—have not been capable of preventing, halting, or neutralizing the wave of bank robberies that has multiplied with impunity in Panama during the last 24 months. As a matter of fact, during the current government's administration, there have been 34 banks robberies that represent a $5 million loss, according to news reports. In the past 20 years, only one robbery of this kind had been registered in Panama. All of the aforementioned sectors have become easy prey to assaults, holdups, and terrorist acts that have the business and private sectors in our nation in a state of alarm.

2. The Panamanians look on, confused and discouraged, at the practically non-existent public security. The police officers, allegedly now solely dedicated to protecting the citizens, have shown themselves to be totally inefficient. This is due specifically to the fact that they have been subject to new politicking, this time by the political parties now in power; to humiliation; and to instability and a lack of security. This lack of security has been produced by having six different directors in two years; by a lack of adequate equipment and weapons; by a loss of labor gains; and basically, by a feeling of great distrust—given the lack of leadership—in the current civilian and police leaders. If this continues, it is obvious that soon we will be faced with cases of indiscipline, insubordination, and—why not say it—corruption.

3. Currently, three trends can be identified regarding our security policy. These trends have a direct link to the current ruling political parties and indicate that history repeats itself. These parties are:

a. Arnulfist Party: Historically this party has had an armed organization at its service as a guarantee to keep it in power. The Secret Police was one of these organization that in 1951 confronted the National Police, which toppled Arnulfo Arias Madrid [deceased party founder]. Currently the party has organized the Institutional Protection Service (SPI), a well-armed and well-equipped (recently they acquired automatic weapons with silencers) group directly under the orders of the presidency. Its specific mission, obviously, is to safeguard the president from a coup attempt. No service is given to the community.

b. Christian Democratic Party: Never in power in Panama's history, it organized in 1990 the National Police, ensuring that the same responded to that party's political leadership, ideology, and guidance. Similar situations have been produced in other nations where the Christian Democratic Party has reached power. This is why it removed from the ranks all those officers and soldiers whose loyalties were questionable. Despite that party's departure from the government alliance, the political tendencies the National Police acquired during its organization are still in force. Moreover, that party's influence is evident in the leaders in command, particularly in the 16 March 1988 coupist group. Service to the community is insufficient.

c. Other parties: Identified with the traditional elite and oligarchic sectors, historically they have had little interest in the Public Force. Their only interest is to manipulate the commander of the Public Force and assure they have control over his appointment, his actions, and his removal. In the final analysis, these parties have always turned to the U.S. military forces stationed in Panama when they have had to solve Panamanian political issues. Naturally, these are always resolved in their favor.

4. The government's current objective is for an Armed Forces not to exist in Panama. This decision has nothing at all to do with the establishment and implementation of policies aimed at guaranteeing public security and national defense. Its sole purpose is to prevent the threat of losing political power due to the actions of the nation's military and police forces. Meanwhile, the government has outrightly eliminated Panama's corresponding participation—by canal treaty mandate—in the Joint Board established in Article IV, Protection and Defense.

The most important aspect of this situation is the precedent that Panama is establishing that the United States could interpret as Panama's renouncement, in practice, of its rights and obligations emanating from the treaty. All this is in accordance with the Principle of Legal Appearance [Principio de la Apariencia Juridica] or Stoffell Principle. Also, that country's Department of Defense, by virtue of U.S. federal legislation, is banned from establishing relations with police forces of any country, because that is the exclusive purview of the U.S. Department of Justice, which is evidently meddling in Panama's internal affairs. Much more obvious and critical for Panama will be its inability to protect and defend the canal beyond the year 2000, when it will have the exclusive right to do so. This inability, which stems from the goal to have no armed forces, is the cause of calls to renegotiate the permanence of U.S. military forces and defense sites in Panama beyond that year.

General David Parker, who recently passed away, foresaw this situation. He was the former Canal Zone's last governor, and he wrote in the December 1987 issue of the MILITARY REVIEW that "the United States will keep to its treaty commitments and will withdraw all its military forces from Panama on the date established in the treaties. It will be in Panama's interest, however, for these forces and defense sites to remain. Consequently, it will be Panama that will request it. This request, made by a democratic government, will be given serious consideration by the United States." This is what is now happening. Thus, the promoters for the permanence of U.S. bases in Panama assume economic advantages and that Panamanians will keep their jobs in these bases.

Nevertheless, for those who expect to trade military bases for money, this economic aspect was not taken into account by Gen. Parker.

The United States is not willing to pay to lease bases in Panama when its military budget is being curtailed by more than $150 billion and military bases in the United States and Europe are being closed down. In addition, the United States has not even stated its interest in renegotiating the military bases. Why then should Panama do so? Should Panama give in to its historic aspirations of ousting U.S. military forces from our territory?

5. Finally, everyone in the country feels defenseless as we have neither a police force nor an armed corps that is truly efficient and devoted to the protection of all. The creation of the SPI is considered—justifiably or not—as the establishment of a repressive corps at the exclusive service of the president's political party and a threat to the people. This is the result of all security policies, except those destined to comply with the treaties and the constitutional functions of the Public Force [FP] of Panama.

D. Conclusions:

In light of the preceding analysis, it is clear it has become necessary for the national government to comply with the expectations developed by the Panamanian people when it saw the government take over the post as part of the U.S. military invasion of Panama in December 1989. Therefore, the following should be implemented:

1. The National Police should be reorganized, depoliticized, and made professional, guaranteeing its independence from the various activities of the political parties. The same should stop being an instrument of the political parties—a bitterly recalled situation of the past—and become a professional and technical organization. This measure would improve the working conditions of its members and ensure an efficient and professional service for the benefit of the community and its associates.

2. A special Panamanian military force should be organized as a professional and depoliticized force truly trained and equipped to comply with the responsibilities resulting from the Panama Canal Treaties that concern the protection and defense of the canal. Such a force would be stationed on the Pacific and Atlantic banks of the canal and would be under the orders of the executive branch. That was the electoral promise of the ruling alliance when it was seeking the votes of the Panama Defense Forces members in 1989.

3. To legislate in a responsible manner regarding the FP in order to guarantee the mechanisms of joint interaction and maintain the separation of the same with separate commands and scales. The constitutional provision related to National Defense and Public Security would remain the same, inasmuch as it is perfectly compatible with the goals of demilitarizing and depoliticizing the FP. More than eliminating an army, the constitutional reforms seek to use that argument to cover up for other reforms that will not benefit the Panamanian people at all.

E. Final Considerations:

It is indispensable to deepen the process of demilitarization of Panamanian society, particularly as far as the U.S. Armed Forces are concerned. Their presence in Panama—both recent as well as in the past—generate conflicts and confrontations such as the ones the Panamanian community has recently witnessed. If this continues, it will heighten emotions and deepen the anti-U.S. feeling of the past, which had been mostly overcome with the treaties but which were reborn as a result of the invasion of Panama in December 1989. These U.S. military forces must return to their defense sites as specified by the treaties and they must develop the protection and combined defense of the Panama Canal. This is the only reason for their presence on our territory, as established by the Torrijos-Carter treaties. These forces must proceed to decrease their involvement in the defense of the Panama Canal until 31 December 1999, when they must definitively withdraw from our country.

Argentina

Condor-2 Installations Transferred to CNAE

PY1102172292 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 1621 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Text] Cordoba, 11 Feb (TELAM)—Defense Minister Antonio Erman Gonzalez has announced that "all plans for war projects have been totally abandoned on government orders. This move affects the continent's security and provides the backing that our country needs to enter the international community without looking suspicious."

Erman Gonzalez made these remarks when he presided over the ceremony to sign the transfer of the installations of the Falda del Carmen plant, where the Condor-2 missile project was developed, to the National Space Affairs Commission (CNAE).

He said that "everything dealing with armaments" of the Condor-2 project "has been deactivated. Everything that could be useful for aerospace research will be recovered, recycled, and reoriented to that end."

Asked about the situation of Air Force Commander Brigadier Jose Julia, Gonzales said that "No one can sentence him before it is demonstrated that he has committed some irregularity. An accusation has been made, and he has been charged; therefore, any government move would constitute a prejudgment."

Menem Says Air Force Chief To Keep Post

PY1102215492 Buenos Aires BUENOS AIRES HERALD in English 11 Feb 92 p 11

[Text] (NA-DYN)—President Carlos Menem confirmed yesterday that Air Force Chief Jose Julia—allegedly involved in a series of corruption scandals—would remain in his post. Menem added that, without his support, Julia would not be able to remain as head of the Air Force. Menem's endorsement of Julia came only hours after the brigadier denied he had accused Menem of making mistakes when signing decrees.

"I take into account Julia's denial this morning (for yesterday)," the president said when asked to comment on Julia's statements published in the Buenos Aires daily CLARIN.

Julia told Radio America that he never stated in the interview with CLARIN that "even the President makes mistakes when he signs a decree." He added that if Menem asked him to step down he would immediately hand in his resignation. "If he appointed me chief and asks me to go, I would not hesitate to step down," said Julia.

Julia also denied charges made by CLARIN that he would meet with a group of legal experts to analyze the possibility of suing the Buenos Aires daily. Federal Prosecutor Hector Bruzzone has requested the indictment of Julia in connection with alleged irregularities in the purchase of spare airplane parts.

Cavallo Reaffirms Opposition to Wage Indexing

PY1102215892 Buenos Aires BUENOS AIRES HERALD in English 11 Feb 92 p 5

[Excerpt] (NA-DYN)—Economy Ministry Domingo Cavallo yesterday reaffirmed his position against a wage hike and a devaluation of the peso in response to the three percent January cost of living increase and warned workers and employers that "if they start indexing everything all they will achieve is a recession."

Cavallo made it clear that "the government is not ready to back these accords with a devaluation or emission" and stated that "what one has to do when the cost of living increases is to try to bring it down again."

In other statements yesterday, the minister said that he is expecting a reply from Argentina's main creditor banks "next week" on the renegotiation of the country's 31 billion dollar debt to them. At the same time, and feeling slightly more optimistic, President Menem held a press conference in Olivos during which he predicted a reply would arrive from the banks before this weekend.

Economy Ministry officials, anxious not to contradict their immediate boss or the president, said that "we will start receiving signals from the banks this week but the formal announcement will come next week."

Central Bank President Roque Fernandez, meanwhile, left for the U.S. yesterday to meet with Argentina's private creditors previous to the formal announcement. Argentina is expecting a counter-proposal from the banks, following an initial proposal from Cavallo in his last visit to the U.S. "Next week we will receive a counter-proposal from them and we'll have to consider it," Cavallo said. Negotiations could take "a few weeks or a few months," the minister added.

"There is a very positive view abroad on everything that's been done to heal the economy, eliminate deficits and stabilize it, and they see that the people of Argentina support this reform," Cavallo said. The minister considered that the January increase "is due to circumstantial factors of that month" and forecast that the tendency will be reverted in February. [passage omitted]

Chile

Party Leaders Admit Receiving Soviet Funds

PY1102205692 Santiago Television Nacional de Chile Network in Spanish 2230 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Text] An official RSFSR Congress investigation has concluded that four Chilean parties received $6 million in aid from the USSR. After the frustrated coup in August, a commission headed by a prosecutor has investigated CPSU actions.

A report submitted today says that, in the 1980's, the ruling party in the then-USSR transferred $6 million to the Radical Party, the MAPU-OC [United Popular

Action Movement-Workers and Peasants Faction], the Socialist Party, and the Chilean Communist Party.

[Begin recording] [MAPU-OC Secretary General Fernando Avila Llanes] We received help from the CPSU between, approximately, 1975 and 1981. I would say that the overall amount was approximately $600,000. The money was delivered in the USSR. Consequently, the report is inaccurate: first, because of the dates relating to our party, and second, because it is totally inaccurate that there were agents of the KGB or other organizations that came to Chile.

[Radical Party Secretary Mario Astorga] Actually, there was both moral and material support for the Chilean cause and Chilean exiles. What we would like to say now is that we are not aware of any specific amount that was provided by the USSR.

[Acting Socialist Party President Jorge Arrate] I do not rule out the possibility that Soviet sources may have supported the movement in solidarity with the Chilean people. As I told you, this solidarity helped to save lives, support widows, and educate the children of murdered and missing people.

[Lautaro Carmona, Chilean Communist Party Political Commission member] The contribution of international solidarity and, in this case, of the Soviet people, was not exclusively for communists. [end recording]

According to the Russian report, the money that went to Chile is part of the $200 million that the CPSU sent to some 80 countries.

Finance Official Discusses U.S. Financial Aid

PY1202015292 Santiago Television Nacional de Chile Network in Spanish 2300 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Text] A multilateral investment fund was created in Washington today. This fund will grant resources to Latin American countries for the promotion of programs for small and midsize industries. Chile is the country with the greatest opportunity to obtain this aid, which will be made in the form of donations. This was announced by a Finance Ministry aide.

Finance Ministry adviser Eduardo Bitran reported that Chile, which is the first country to request this aid, already has presented a preliminary project to obtain it. He said that Chile will initially request more than $30 million. If these funds are granted to Chile, they will be used for investments in small and midsized companies, for labor training, and for strengthening public institutions.

Bitran said the Chilean program probably will serve as a basis for future initiatives by other Latin American countries.

[Begin Bitran recording] We think these initiatives help to strengthen the financial markets, establish greater possibilities to finance projects and companies, create greater possibilities to develop new companies, generate clear and stable rules of the game, and also protect consumers; so, therefore, we think they help improve the overall atmosphere for private investment in Chile. [end recording]

Russian Proposal to Train Astronauts 'Confirmed'

PY1102201692 Santiago Radio Chilena Network in Spanish 1600 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Text] Air Force Chief of Staff General Ramon Vega Hidalgo has confirmed a Russian proposal to train two Chilean pilots to go into space. This training reportedly will last at least two years. He also confirmed the participation of two Russian scientists who, along with their Chilean colleagues, will study the ozone layer.

[Begin Vega Hidalgo recording] We are drafting the working program that I hope will be implemented in April using the Russian M-17 aircraft, which is a reconnaissance plane. We will analyze the profile of the ozone layer at its different heights from Punta Arenas to Serena. We will draft some curves related to the weakening of the layer in the continental and urban areas. We will draft a profile of the Caletones area to find out the concentration of particles in the atmosphere and the greenhouse effect this concentration of particles causes in the area between Rancagua and Santiago. We will measure the ultraviolet rays within the (?pi) wavelength, which is the most dangerous for the skin, in order to accurately learn the extent to which the layer has been damaged in urban and suburban areas in the Chilean metropolitan and central region. [end recording]

Vega made these remarks at the operations center of Captain Avalos Aviation School during the 79th anniversary of this institution's founding. This ceremony also was attended by the six commanders in chief, except for (Air Force Commander in Chief) Fernando Matthei.

Air Force Responds

PY1102122892 Santiago Radio Chilena Network in Spanish 1000 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Text] Chilean Air Force [FACh] Colonel Carlos Hernando has confirmed that the FACh has spoken with executives of the former Soviet Union space program to seek their participation in aerospace development, even though there are no plans to send two Chileans into space as the press has reported.

Hernando explained that these talks seek to enhance the Air Forces's knowledge in the area of satellite communication systems and to gain access to the data base on space medicines, meteorology, the ozone layer, agriculture, industry, mining, and education.

The talks began last year, after FIDAE-92 [International Air and Space Fair] organizers visited Moscow to invite the former Soviet Union to participate in this event, which will be held in Santiago in March.

* Foreign Minister on Honecker, 'Grapes Case'

92SM0231A Santiago EL MERCURIO in Spanish 12 Jan 92 pp D1-D2

[Interview with Foreign Minister Enrique Silva Cimma by Raquel Correa; place and date not given]

[Excerpts] When everything seems to be going wrong, he remains imperturbable. No yelling, racing around, or theatrics. Think first, then wait and see afterwards, seems to be his motto.

But act too, he says in his office at the foreign ministry, when the National Congress will be operating.

He seems relaxed, slightly tanned. On his desk are Cape jasmines, which he grows at home and which he offers in a gallant gesture. [passage omitted]

Room and Board

[Correa] Do you think Honecker can stay at the Chilean Embassy indefinitely?

[Silva Cimma] As a hypothetical question? Do not forget that there have been embassy guests for years, like Haya de la Torre and Cardinal Mindzsenty.

[Correa] Would you consider that a positive solution?

[Silva Cimma] It is not a good solution. This type of problem should be settled, but the solutions here are diplomatic. There are no political solutions for this case, only diplomatic ones, which obviously contain political overtones as well.

[Correa] It was reported that when the finance minister wanted to give a dinner for French businessmen and bankers in Paris, he was told there was no money to pay for it. In these circumstances, is there money, Minister, to pay for medical care for Honecker in Moscow?

[Silva Cimma] I did not know that about Paris. On the second point, it is my understanding that if Honecker needs medical care, he will pay for it. The embassy is treating him as a guest. [passage omitted]

German Pressure

[passage omitted]

[Correa] Finally, then, what will predominate here: compassion for a sick old man; the desire to get along with Germany, which is a powerful nation; or the sense of justice, since this man should be tried?

[Silva Cimma] Well, for the Chilean Foreign Ministry, for the Chilean Government, problems are not so cut and dried. Problems have to be considered as a whole, in context. The Honecker problem—I repeat—is a natural one for a Foreign Ministry to deal with, without any spectacular connotations or anything catastrophic. As a diplomatic item, it is normal for me. Within that context, it is being analyzed as a whole. It has some specific connotations: first, rights and laws—the right to due process, etc.; secondly, if charges are filed, he has the right to be be tried by a democratic country like Germany; and Honecker has the right to express his concerns. We are not considering any of these aspects; they go beyond our area of expertise as a foreign ministry. What we are analyzing is the other problem in its context. The problem was raised for us because a man asked to be received in a Chilean house, and this house took him in for humanitarian reasons, so that he would not be abandoned, left defenseless, and possibly imprisoned. There are humane connotations here, of course; it would be impossible to ignore them, and irrational to claim the contrary. For Honecker did at one time protect many Chileans. It has been said: but Honecker killed people. That will have to be settled by the courts, not by me. I am not a judge.

[Correa] Which courts?

[Silva Cimma] Whatever courts have jurisdiction. Maybe the German courts.

[Correa] In comparing the Honecker case to the case of the Chileans in Germany, you would have to compare Kohl with Pinochet.

[Silva Cimma] The difference is that Kohl is head of a state of law and President Pinochet was head of an authoritarian state. You will see that I am speaking an increasingly diplomatic language—he commented jokingly.

[Correa] What will happen to Ambassador Almeyda?

[Silva Cimma] Almeyda is returning to his post in mid-January. He is now in Germany visiting his family.

[Correa] Did he not go to Germany to deal with the Honecker case?

[Silva Cimma] No. His wife and son are there.

[Correa] Who is taking care of Honecker?

[Silva Cimma] The staff at the ambassador's residence, naturally.

[Correa] When he reaches Moscow, will he take over the Honecker case?

[Silva Cimma] No. It is being and will continue to be handled by us.

[Correa] What do you think would be the ideal solution for this case?

[Silva Cimma] The ideal thing would be for it to be handled normally between Chile and Germany, for a reasonable settlement to be found. The ideal solution would be that if this man wants to come to Chile to see his family, he could do so, and the German Government—using its authority—if it considered it necessary, would apply for extradition. That is the legal solution.

[Correa] How do you think the United States will react if the Chilean courts declare Contreras and Espinoza innocent?

[Silva Cimma] We will then have exhausted all the recourses our legal system allows us. Our courts are the ones which will issue a verdict. As Fernando Alessandri said, after that only divine justice can speak.

[Correa] Do you think the United States will sit back and accept with resignation a Chilean court decision favorable to Contreras?

[Silva Cimma] Of course! The United States is a country of law too. No one can fail to see that the Government of Chile has done everything it should have done. President Aylwin, when he was a candidate, said he would work to have this crime cleared up. If the courts decide they are not guilty, it is over. The United States has said it is quite satisfied with the way the Chilean government has handled this case; if tomorrow the Chilean courts find the defendants Contreras and Espinoza not guilty, we would have to say: that is justice, my friend. And if tomorrow a verdict were issued against the Chilean claim concerning the poisoned grapes, we would have to respect that. We will continue to appeal so long as there is any recourse left, but the time will come when all the appeals have been used up. After that, as Alessandri said, we have no other recourse but to submit.

[Correa] If they are not found guilty, how are you going to explain to the Chilean people the payment of millions of dollars in compensation to the Letelier and Moffitt families?

[Silva Cimma] If they are are not found guilty, it means that the courts did not find them guilty....

[Correa] Yes, but the government did find them guilty, as it agreed to pay compensation.

[Silva Cimma] To solve the problem of normalizing relations with the United States, which are of interest to the people and to the Government of Chile. Someone might say: what do I care about relations with the United States? They do matter to me.

[Correa] So Chile is paying to have good relations?

[Silva Cimma] It is doing what the Pinochet Constitution says! Article 38 of the Constitution of the Republic. The state of Chile is liable for actions committed by its officials.

[Correa] Then you are starting from the basis that it was Chilean state officials who killed Letelier.

[Silva Cimma] So far all the records we have reviewed have led us to think that Chilean officials may have been involved in that crime. There are two aspects here: criminal liability, which is handled by the Chilean courts. And civil liability; we do not recognize liability as a state, but still, to put an end to the problem, "ex gratia," we are paying compensation.

[Correa] But if the criminal trial determines that the murderers were not Chilean, why should we have to pay? You are implicitly admitting that Chilean state officials were involved in that crime.

[Silva Cimma] What I do admit is that the crime which took place gravely damaged relations between Chile and the United States. According to the evidence they have, they concluded that Chilean officials were involved in that crime. Although we have never accepted that, we do recognize that there was an action which produced abnormalities in relations between the two countries.

[Correa] One large and one small country.

[Silva Cimma] That is the dignity of the small country: to freely agree to pay. With the same right that the United States asked me to go to the Bryan Commission about the Letelier case, I say we are going to the Bryan Commission about the "grapes case."

[Correa] What compensation will Chile seek in the "grapes case?"

[Silva Cimma] We are going to ask for everything that is due: millions of dollars; much more than is going to be paid for the Letelier Case. Our position is that we will categorically defend the rights of the Chileans who—in our opinion—were arbitrarily damaged. And we will do so in all the appropriate forums. For us the most appropriate is the diplomatic route, where we are starting. Chile will seek compensation for these damages in all appropriate forums, and the final one will certainly be the Bryan Commission.

* Foreign Minister's Accomplishments Evaluated

92SM0231B Santiago EL MERCURIO in Spanish 5 Jan 92 pp B1, B24

[Report by Carolina Garcia de la Huerta: "The Minister's Year"]

[Text] Except for an "almost," the minister has done what he set out to do. Even though the 1991 IPC [Consumer Price Index] was seven-tenths of a point higher than the 18 percent forecast, that did not mar the economic success achieved in the whole numbers.

Overall, the general feeling is that 1991 was a good year. Good for inflation and very good for growth, with 5.5 percent expected for 1991. The numbers are much better than in the meager 1990 economy.

And if 1991 was a good year, right now Minister of Finance Alejandro Foxley could say that he has done his job; for better or for worse—depending on from whom the commentary is coming from—he accomplished what he wanted in the economy and practically achieved what he had predicted.

What more can be asked?

In gross economic terms, apparently not much. But outside the strictly technical field, it seems clear that, especially with the business community, he needs to use

these figures to develop greater credibility. For despite what the minister has done, his image in the private sector, while good, certainly does not go hand in hand with these numerical successes.

That is why some of his colleagues have tried to emphasize his serious gifts as an economic forecaster. Nothing new, though, since last June he himself said; "I do not have a crystal ball to predict the precise figure (of the IPC), but it will be on this order (18 percent), with a growth of about 5 percent for the GDP [Gross Domestic Product]." And so it was.

Looking back, some people remember a speech Foxley gave when he was a member of Cieplan [Corporation for Latin American Economic Research] before joining the administration, speaking to a group of visiting foreign officials about his vision of the Chilean economy during the transition.

"For those of us who spent 16 years in a constant, intense, and permanent opposition to General Pinochet's regime in politics, and who were also strong critics of the economic policies during this period, the least complicated attitude in a situation like this one might be to return to this 16-year-old diagnosis and criticism, rework it and essentially take the bugs out of the successes which the Chilean economy can show today. I would not like to choose that route."

No sooner said than done; not without reason do some minority groups accuse him of continuing the old regime's policies.

Speaking of the risks of turning to a worn-out populist policy, he then said: "We must avoid the temptation to have a good or very good first year; we need a more or less adequate first year, emphasizing the "less." A self-fulfilling prophecy.

And as things are going, it seems that even before taking office the minister had one very clear intention: "The economic success of this four-year government will come about gradually...."

He does what he says. He fulfills his prophecies.

Still, his relationship with businessmen is not an easy one; it is somewhat distant—in large part because of the never openly admitted political ambitions which he espoused during 1991.

For if one factor really hurt the image of the present minister of finance, it was his virtual candidacy, created in a document cooked up in the general department of the presidency. It ended by weakening him on two fronts: in economics and in politics.

In economics, because his political launching from La Moneda cast a huge shadow of doubt about his interests and motivations, so it was not unusual to hear statements like: "Foxley's heart is set on politics and not on the economy" or questions like "who is in charge of the economy in this country?"

That was on the economic front, because in politics that document, born in the mind of Edgardo Boeninger, famous for his great skill in political engineering, ended up with this comment.... "He is not helping me as a friend...." Foxley's candidacy did not go anywhere, at least this time, political analysts say. This produced some relief in businessmen who were happy to see Foxley return whole to his finance ministry office.

The Minister's Assets

But beyond that political stumble, even the minister's most ardent opponents consider him intelligent and capable, austere and honest, with an unmatched flair for words that makes him one of the nation's best communicators. And a man of presidential timber, people in general agree.

These are the virtues his opponents see in the present minister of finance, 52, who was born and raised in Vina del Mar. He was trained as an engineer, and holds a doctorate in economics from the University of Wisconsin. His wife is Gisela Tapia, vice president of Saint George; they have two children.

In the eyes of his supporters, the past year was without a doubt a very good year for Foxley. He was able to instill confidence and demonstrate that this economic team can do the job. More than that. "Things are going well, and for the first time in history the goals proposed are being met," say his most enthusiastic supporters.

And what about his ability to sell and sell himself abroad, these people also say. He has a good presence, he speaks well, his English is perfect. He personifies brilliantly that blend of democracy with economic success which now causes any nation to succumb. And he has been given special recognition abroad, serving as chair of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank's Development Committee since September 1990, a position to which he has added a number of high-level visits abroad, the latest as Helmut Kohl's special guest.

So with these contacts, it is not strange that some people inside the government say it was Foxley and not foreign relations that took charge of selling Chile economically.

A not very difficult issue, they say, for to tell the truth, and all fairness aside, it is true that in this administration with Foxley in the Finance Ministry, foreigners have come to recognize our country's progress in development. Nothing could be said about it before, as that would have meant tossing bouquets to the Pinochet dictatorship, and that would never have happened....

But not everything is rose-colored here, and some in the opposition say the minister has overemphasized free trade agreements, since at least the U.S. trade agreement, the one that could offer the greatest dividends, will be postponed until after the U.S. elections.

Leaving foreign issues and returning to the Ministry, one of his close colleagues says that with Foxley the era of

pure technocrats has come to an end. They say that despite the difficulties the government had to face this past year—the strikes involving miners, health care workers, teachers—he came through practically unscathed, though the pressures were considerable. "This was because the workers trust the minister. Foxley spent 10 years building a relationship, and it was this route traveled together in very tough times which now, in better days, has borne fruit, and that is why he was able to act openly and with a firm hand."

Points of Disagreement

But businessmen do not view the route travelled with much satisfaction. Some in the government explain that this is due to a feeling that the private sector, whether one likes it or not, is in the opposition and therefore would view the present economic officials somewhat like the Romans would look upon the Huns entering Rome. With the clear difference that these people have done much better than any one would have bet two years ago; they have not destroyed any kingdoms nor is there any reason for major complaint.

To the surprise of many—they say—the government has raised the standard of the free market, and as the businessmen have been left without an economic argument, they have started to gripe about other things, now concentrating on the crime issue.

True or not, it is a fact that in the business community, despite the successes the numbers show, Foxley is not persuasive. First, because of his past career as a man extremely critical of all the measures taken under the former regime, a criticism related essentially to the political interests of the man who belonged to the ranks of Christian Democracy since 1958. And as often happens, any change in opinions carries with it a cost in credibility.... Foxley is paying that price today.

Along that same line, the opposition argues that the private sector was used to technical ministers, while Foxley is more political—which is vital for today's democratic times, others say. In addition, the secrecy which at times enshrouded his candidacy produced some unease in those who saw the minister appealing directly to the "public," more as a politician than as an economist. Here is one example: the urgent and peremptory announcement about seeking a solution for the problem of the debt, without any prior study to show how to solve this complicated matter....

Moreover, they do not like his tendency to sermonize in his speeches—perhaps influenced by his Anglican antecedents, they say—his patriotic gestures, and the fact that Foxley does not hesitate to show his annoyance about what he judges to be the private sector's excessive fears. The targets of his criticism say he feels he should hold the "moral monopoly" on criticism.

Ominami Has More Supporters

Because of his greater "political complexity," they explain, Foxley has been losing ground to the minister of the economy, Carlos Ominami, who won the most applause at the recent business conference.

Of course, during the past year as Foxley became more politicized, Ominami worked to transmit greater enthusiasm to the market economy, and finally became perceived as a more transparent man, one who says exactly what he thinks, a man more at ease and open. What businessman would not be pleased with him when, at the meeting of officials and business leaders held in the CEP [Center for Political Studies], the minister of the economy said that if it were not for the Constitutional ruling, he would even support privatizing Codelco [Copper Corporation]....

But Foxley is more cautious and even harsher at times. For example, when he scolds businessmen for not attending his working luncheons.

His colleagues, though, explain this attitude very simply; it is on the shoulders of the minister of finance, and not the minister of the economy, that the ultimate responsibility falls.

Still, people in the government say that Ominami has been a key player who has greatly helped Foxley. "He was very critical before entering the government, but now he has left more space for Foxley to do what he wants. Like a good convert, he might even be more liberal than the minister of finance," they say in a mock serious tone.

But on a more serious note, they say Foxley has been saved from the worst that could have happened; having to work permanently with a socialist as minister of the economy.

Cautious is the Word

Cautious is the word that best describes him. An extreme caution that makes Foxley measure each step, trying not to make the slightest false move.

So to the opposition he looks like a man who resists change, vetoing all advances, like a freer exchange rate. Or moving rapidly to greater openness in the capital account, despite the fact that some time ago he had support from the "Central" for doing so.

But he is the one who opposes things directly, they say, stubbornly measuring each step. He delays now, as earlier he delayed in lowering tariffs. Not through caprice or because he is slow to make decisions, but rather because of a healthy strategy of doing things well, the argument goes.

In this context, despite those who complain that Chile is losing leadership, the minister is convinced that during this new phase things cannot be extracted with forceps. For example, the eight-month delay in starting the new

AFP [Pension Fund Administration] system is not serious, and costs very little.

But on the other hand, rapid advances could multiply costs "ad infinitum." "Chile needs to maintain political and economic stability after almost 40 years of confrontations, so any mistake now would be expensive." Foxley has a political eye; everyone now wants greater openness, but the political cost of a measure that comes eight months later will be zero, and waiting will not have mattered much....

So, while some saw strong threats of a silent counterrevolution during 1991—a phrase that raises Foxley's hackles, as he is always very sensitive to criticism—others say that during 1991 he showed his attachment to the market economy in an almost physical manner. He lowered tariffs, despite the fact that just a few years ago the debate was about how high tariffs should be and how differentiated. He promised to achieve a specific level of inflation; he risked his neck to get $200 million for the "Central," the same money being sought for health, housing, and education....

In the future, Aylwin willing, he will risk his personal credit—whether he will go down into history as a good minister of finance, the one who demonstrated that economic development is fully compatible with democracy. In the end, beyond the problem of the feelings he awakens in the business community, this will depend on whether the economy continues to show positive results. In the near future this task is going to be hindered by the spending pressures generated in any election. Resisting those pressures will be Foxley's trial by fire.

Colombia

Strikes, Protests Cause 'Total Chaos' in Bogota

PA1202003892 Santa Fe de Bogota Inravision Television Cadena 1 in Spanish 0000 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Report by Carlos Julio Bethancourt]

[Excerpts] Strikes and protests on 10 February in Santa Fe de Bogota caused total chaos. The leaders of 25 neighborhoods north of the city blocked the Northern Highway for 12 hours. Downtown, workers of the telephone, energy, and water enterprises, the National Civil Registry Office, and banking sector paralyzed a great number of services.

The madness of Santa Fe de Bogota grows stronger daily. It came out early on 10 February, was clear for all to see and, apparently, was contagious. The economy and the administration of Mayor Juan Martin Caicedo Ferrer have driven the unions at the energy, aqueduct, and telephone enterprises mad. Employees are clashing with the seemingly imminent and necessary privatization. Those paying the consequences are those who need a telephone to save a life or need to boil water to cook.

The unions protest that the enterprises are being politicized. The city protests unionism and union demands. The country is clamoring for efficient services. Residents of the Villa del Prado region, north of the city, blocked the entrances and exits on the Northern Highway. Madness also seized another area. According to residents, they are protesting because the mayor has ignored their request for a bridge to provide access to two neighborhoods and to at least 20 schools. Approximately 500,000 persons and 20,000 vehicles were brought to a standstill, driven mad by the roadblocks. [passage omitted]

There does not seem to be any way to overcome the chaos and flaws in running the capital. Santa Fe de Bogota began the week in need of a psychiatrist, fit to be tied. Two unfinished entrances do not justify blocking a national highway. Nor is there any justification for the ineptness in running Bogota that is affecting the daily lives of thousands of Colombians.

Guerrillas Cause 'Incalculable' Ecological Damage

PA1102184992 Santa Fe de Bogota Emisoras Caracol Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 8 Feb 92

[Text] Santa Fe de Bogota—The ecological damage and the economic losses in the western region of Narino Department, caused by the guerrilla attack against the Trans-Andean Pipeline, are incalculable, Ecopetrol [Colombian Petroleum Enterprise] spokesmen have announced.

Ecopetrol issued a communique stating that a station to process crude oil and a radio repeater facility were destroyed in the attack, which also caused an enormous petroleum spill.

The attack took place at kilometer 131 of the Trans-Andean Pipeline in the region of Amarillo, 40 km from Ipiales, in the western part of Narino Department. This was the fourth attack perpetrated by rebels in the last three months against the Trans-Andean Pipeline.

Peru

Bombing of U.S. Ambassador's Residence Reported

PA1202014892 Lima Global de Television Network in Spanish 0103 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Text] A few minutes ago, at approximately 1900, terrorists attacked the residence of U.S. Ambassador Anthony Quainton. Four people, all members of the embassy's security force, were injured. The terrorists detonated a powerful car bomb in front of the building and also fired an Instalasa rocket at the building. Several nearby buildings were seriously damaged.

The ambassador's residence is located on Petit Thuars Avenue. Part of the building was destroyed. Several policemen are trying to determine whether there is another explosive device in the vicinity. The explosive charge was fired with an Instalasa. Several people on

Arequipa Avenue also were injured. Policemen were seen deployed at the U.S. Embassy, trying to identify and arrest the perpetrators of this treacherous attack, which took place just 24 hours prior to the arrival in the country of Michael Camdessus, the highest-ranking IMF representative.

The police removed one of the seriously wounded persons aboard a fire truck. Blood stains can be seen on the ground at the site.

Two Policemen Dead

PY1202101892 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0309 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Text] Lima, 11 Feb (EFE)—Police sources have reported that the two policemen who were wounded during in the terrorist attack today, 11 February, at the residence of the U.S. ambassador in Lima, died a few hours later in hospitals in this capital. The dead policemen are Lieutenant Silva Saravia and Sargent Luis Solsoi. Two other policeman are in critical condition, as are two civilians.

The policemen were on guard at the residence of U.S. Ambassador to Peru Anthony Quainton. A car bomb containing 40 kg of dynamite exploded today at the residence, according to the same sources. The explosion of the vehicle, which had been parked on a street behind the residence in downtown Lima, knocked down 10 meters of the wall that surrounds the premises and broke the windows of houses and building within a 200 meter radius. The two wounded civilians—one a woman—were pedestrians who were passing by.

Another person was murdered today in the El Agustino district of Lima by an alleged "hit squad" of the Maoist group Shining Path, a group that on 10 February killed four policemen in different places in this capital.

Attack Attributed to MRTA

PY1202105492 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1024 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Text] Lima, 12 Feb (AFP-NA)—The police have reported that two policemen died in the car bomb attack last night at the residence of the U.S. ambassador in Lima. They were seriously wounded when the car bomb exploded, and they died while being operated on in a local hospital, the source stated. Another 15 persons were wounded in a dozen attacks last night by commandos during a 3-hour period in different area in Lima. The attacks caused considerable material damage.

After attacking the residence of the U.S. ambassador, the commandos threw homemade bombs at a police precinct and at the premises of the Joint Command of the Armed Forces. Banks in different districts of the capital were also attacked.

Police have attributed the attacks to the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA, Guevarist), a rival in the current wave of terrorist attacks in Lima by the Maoist Shining Path group, which has called for a work stoppage in this capital on 14 February under threat of death.

Shining Path Issues Strike Call; Police Respond

PA1202025092 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0110 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Excerpt] Lima, 11 Feb (EFE)—The newspaper LA TERCERA reported on 11 February that Peru's capital, Lima, which increasingly is being subjected to terror, will mobilize 10,000 policemen in view of the announcement that an "armed strike" (general strike under threat of death), has been called by the Maoist Shining Path movement for Friday, 14 February.

The capital is the site of 70 percent of the terrorist attacks carried out by subversive groups in the country, according to data provided by a Peruvian Senate commission studying the causes of violence in Peru. [passage omitted]

Documents Signed To Promote Ties With Bolivia

PY0702180092 Lima EL COMERCIO in Spanish 25 Jan 92 p A4

[By Rossana Echeandia]

[Text] Ilo, 24 Jan—The presidents and foreign ministers of Peru and Bolivia yesterday signed one communique, four agreements, and a preliminary agreement. Two notes were exchanged and an official letter was received expressing a commitment by the Andean Development Corporation. The respective documents are described below:

1. The Great Marshall Andres de Santa Cruz Cooperation and Integration Agreement: This document consolidates understanding between Peru and Bolivia and confirms their desire for integration.

2. An agreement for the participation of Bolivian enterprises in Ilo's industrial duty-free zone: Under the terms of this agreement, the Bolivian Government will designate an enterprise to participate in the industrial duty-free zone of Ilo for a renewable period of 50 years.

3. An agreement for the participation of Bolivia in the tourist duty-free zone that will comprise a 5 km stretch at the Ilo beach. The agreement provides for the sale of real estate lots to Bolivians for construction of vacation facilities with access to the beach. The area is located in the Pozo Lisas beach, in the Punta Coles area.

4. An agreement that facilitates the circulation of people in the territory of both countries, which will benefit both national and foreign residents.

5. A preliminary agreement on international railroad transport, the promotion of international land transport, and the interconnection of communication facilities of

Peru and Bolivia. The agreement will allow Bolivian railroad traffic to circulate through Peruvian territory, and Peruvian railroad traffic to circulate through Bolivian territory. It will also improve bilateral telecommunication services through the adoption of digital systems, through the expansion of interconnected system, and through the internationalization of microwave links.

6. Notes exchanged by the foreign ministers of the two countries on the creation of a binational commission in charge of the celebration of the 200th anniversary of the birthday of Marshall Andres de Santa Cruz.

7. Notes exchanged by the two foreign ministers for the creation of a binational technical commission that will design a Peruvian-Bolivian supplementary entrepreneurial program in the fishing area. This agreement foresees a study on the form in which Bolivian businessmen, through mixed companies, will participate in sea fishing operations;

8. The official letters that were delivered to the two presidents noting the Andean Development Corporation (CAF) commitment to grant all the necessary financial support for continuing studies and for starting the construction of highways, port, and duty-free zone facilities, and also for private investment in the industrial, commercial, and tourist areas.

9. The "Declaration of Ilo," signed by the Peruvian and Bolivian presidents, in which they noted the significance of integration and cooperation between the two nations for promoting development and the well-being of their people. The presidents also noted the importance of putting into practice, through concrete actions, the commitments that their respective governments assumed for reaching such objectives.

Blacker Discusses Integration With Chile

PY0802185492 Santiago EL MERCURIO in Spanish 2 Feb 92 pp D12, D13

[Interview with Foreign Minister Augusto Blacker Miller by Mario Valle G.; place and date not given; passages in italics are editorial comment]

[Text] [Valle] What is a young engineer with a masters degree in business administration doing as head of the Peruvian foreign ministry?

[Blacker] It demonstrates how much things have changed in our country. To tell the truth, foreign policy increasingly is being regarded as a country's effort and not so much as expertise in international relations or specific juridical relations.

[Valle] Does this mean that Peru has decided to adopt an economic type of diplomacy?

[Blacker] That is somewhat the expression we used in Peru to explain what we intend to do with the new foreign policy. Our foreign policy is clearly engaged in an effort to develop and attain economic growth in Peru, and we are clearly aware that our essential mission is to help attain the objective of development.

[Valle] Is it possible to think that the current Peruvian foreign minister could, in the future, become minister of economy and finance, like Domingo Cavallo in Argentina did?

[Blacker] I could quote President Fujimori here, who says that it is better to talk after acting, and I think that what I must now try to do is to achieve, in the best possible way, the objectives of Peruvian foreign policy.

[Valle] Is the photo of you in the shower, as published in CARETAS magazine, also a sign of the new times? It is something unusual for a foreign minister. *He is not bothered by this question and, smiling, he replies:* [Blacker] That picture was taken in a private club where I went to exercise following my return from Ecuador. It is certainly not a traditional picture for a foreign minister, but it is also not offensive, therefore, I am not particularly worried about it.

President Alberto Fujimori was installed in July 1990. Blacker is his fourth foreign minister. When asked if this means a certain instability in Peruvian foreign policy, he said:

[Blacker] No, what is happening—and you must understand this—is somewhat the result of a process that is introducing a deep change in the country, after receiving it in the terribly deteriorated shape in which President Fujimori found it. Therefore, the executive branch has had to make efforts to adapt to the several challenges imposed by the changing reality. This is mainly the reason for the many changes that have taken place. I also think that the Peruvian foreign policy and goals are now more clear. Therefore, my task is somewhat easier than for my predecessors.

[Valle] Does your presence at the Torre Tagle Palace mean that Peruvian foreign economic relations will be intensified?

[Blacker] Yes, they will be intensified, but we will also concentrate on the importance of the political and cultural aspects of our bilateral and multilateral relations. They are very important and should be given full attention. It is clear, however, that we are facing a period in which we have to make efforts to try to rejoin Peru to the international sphere. This obviously implies the need to intensify economic, commercial, and financial cooperation.

[Valle] It has been said that your visit to Chile is designed to seek integration through the achievement of concrete actions. Can you describe them?

[Blacker] The first step was the agreement on visas, alllowing the free transit of the people between our two countries. This is very important, and it is a signal that both nations and governments are showing to the people that they are willing to promote a major integration, peace, and cooperation. Furthermore, during the talks

with Chilean Foreign Minister Silva Cimma and with President Aylwin, we agreed to begin the analysis of a series of issues to promote cooperation, investment, and economic development, a fact that will become true during President Fujimori's visit to Chile.

[Valle] Do you hint that an atmosphere of reciprocal confidence prevails in both countries?

[Blacker] I am sure about it. I was satisfied with the goodwill shown by the government officials, and I am even more impressed with the political will to definitively solve the matter on the treaty signed in 1929.

[Valle] What is the purpose of intensifying bilateral relations with Chile, which, as you have stated, is one of your priority objectives?

[Blacker] We are really trying to find a common ground that can help to strengthen bilateral relations, especially considering that the two countries seek to rejoin the rest of the world on the basis of efficiency, productivity, and competitiveness.

[Valle] Why is Peru trying, at this time, to develop all these actions, not only with Chile, but with Ecuador and Bolivia?

[Blacker] We are really maintaining a neighborly policy of integration, peace, friendship, and cooperation. Why? Because we think that a country like Peru, which seeks to rejoin the international system and to contend in the international trade, cannot remain isolated, and should not promote independent policies, or what is worse, should not adopt an attitude of confrontation with its neighbors.

We think that we need to make an effort to join Peru to the international system, a task that President Fujimori is concentrating on. We must seek integration and cooperation with all neighboring countries in order to make the comparative advantages of each country powerful but, for the sake of the group, we are really trying to promote open and competitive integration.

[Valle] Why at this time?

[Blacker] Because we currently have a president who has realized that the best way to fight poverty, misery, and inequality is by generating wealth and not by distributing poverty, which is a system that has been applied in Peru over the last 35 years.

[Valle] Do you think the previous foreign policy was influenced by the faults of the past and by factors that did not allow the adoption of the current measures?

[Blacker] It was more the result of the internal policies, including the protectionist economic policy, which obviously did not attach major importance to relations with other countries but to the internal market instead, which turned out to be even poorer, but which was permanently protected for the benefit of a few groups and to the detriment of the majority of the people.

[Valle] Do you agree with President Paz Zamora, in the sense that Chileans adopted a "sluggish" attitude with respect to the decision to give an outlet to Bolivia as Peru did in the last few days?

[Blacker] I would act in a presumptuous manner if I try to assess the remarks of a president regarded as a friend of Chile and Peru. Consequently, I ask you to arrive at your own conclusions.

[Valle] Much has been said in the past few days on the advantages obtained by Bolivia through the agreement signed in the port of Ilo. What are the benefits of this agreement for Peru?

[Blacker] The main advantage is the possibility to improve the level of economic activity in southern Peru, which we regard as very important, and to give more jobs to the people in that area.

[Valle] Do you think that Bolivia's landlocked situation has been solved, considering that Chile also has granted Bolivia port facilities in Arica and Antofagasta?

[Blacker] The decision made by President Fujimori has helped find a pragmatic solution to a very difficult problem being faced by Bolivia because of its landlocked situation. I think that everyone should applaud this decision. It is not up to me to resolve whether they will consider the possibility of an outlet to the Pacific as a definitive solution.

[Valle] A few days ago, Bolivian Foreign Minister Carlos Iturralde stated that, in the wake of the agreements reached with Bolivia, President Fujimori reportedly agreed to hold trilateral meetings to analyze Bolivia's landlocked situation. Is this true?

[Blacker] I have not heard President Fujimori making such a proposal. I think this is not the appropriate time to discuss this issue and, consequently, I prefer not to answer this question.

[Valle] But do you think that a trilateral negotiation on Bolivia's landlocked situation will be feasible?

[Blacker] No.

[Valle] Is Peru going to be in a position to begin the upcoming negotiations and to sign free trade agreements like other countries, including Chile and Bolivia?

[Blacker] We are going in that direction. We are very interested in the issue, and we will closely analyze it in the upcoming months, so that when President Fujimori visits Chile, we can reach an agreement or at least outline the priorities in that area.

[Valle] Based on your economic experience, what should the level of cooperation be among Southern Cone countries, to confront the large blocs that are emerging in the world with their problems and advantages?

[Blacker] There are major possibilities. We are working on an economic and commercial integration in South

America that can allow a fluid transit of goods and services among our countries and the possibility to contend with more strength to attract foreign capital and investments.

[Valle] What have been the concrete effects of the so-called "Fuji-shock?"

[Blacker] "Fuji-shock" has been used as a phrase to describe the effort that represented the Peruvian economic adjustment to reverse the problem of hyperinflation we endured during the change of government. This has been a successful measure, considering that the inflation that, in the last month of the previous government stood at 90 percent, has been reduced to 4 percent, a rate that we regard as high but that represents a great step forward considering the suffering we endured just 20 months ago.

[Valle] These good attempts to promote integration, however, face the scourge of drug trafficking. What are the concrete measures being implemented by Peru to face this problem so that it does not affect the economic development that is being promoted?

[Blacker] The government has adopted a series of measures. The Peruvian president's proposal to promote development of an alternative to coca leaf has even been designated with the name "the Fujimori Doctrine." Consequently, we are working hard to make progress in the implementation of alternative development and to better control the entry of drug traffickers into Peru.

[Valle] Are trafficking and terrorism parallel activities in Peru?

[Blacker] There is a close relationship between these activities. This is a fact that helps enhance terrorist activities. The more we control drug trafficking, the more we will help to reduce terrorist activities.

[Valle] Are you aware of any links between the Shining Path and Chilean terrorist groups?

[Blacker] I really cannot confirm this. It is a very delicate issue that must be addressed in a very confidential way, but the two countries should exchange information on all terrorist actions.

[Valle] Have you considered implementing joint actions against both these scourges?

[Blacker] Yes. We have formed a special commission in charge of these matters. We want to reinforce its task of fighting these scourges.

[Valle] Do we have enough resources to face them?

[Blacker] Resources must be created if they are not available.

[Valle] Peruvian congressmen who visited Chile to report on the negotiations with Ecuador stated that there is concrete evidence that drugs processed in Peru are crossing our borders. Is there a strategy to prevent this from happening?

[Blacker] Yes. The drug issue is included in our project to strengthen relations with neighboring countries because this problem affects us all, and we need to coordinate actions to face it.

[Valle] Why do you think that Peru became one of the main targets for trafficking and terrorism?

[Blacker] Because of the poverty of our people. The social problems like those above are closely linked to the extreme poverty affecting the majority of our people.

[Valle] Senator Manuel Ulloa stated that corruption and poor economic policies are among the reasons for these problems.

[Blacker] It is almost the same answer.

[Valle] Do you agree with him?

[Blacker] Yes.

[Valle] Have the recent measures helped to reduce trafficking?

[Blacker] Their impact on trafficking has been somewhat indirect. Less progress has been made on this than on economic problems. We are obtaining some significant results in the antiterrorist struggle. We are implementing a series of strategies to fight trafficking supported by various countries affected by this problem and with U.S. cooperation.

[Valle] Doesn't this imply certain conditions that are to the detriment of Peru?

[Blacker] The United States has conditioned the disbursement of funds to fight drug trafficking. We sometimes think these conditions are exaggerated, especially considering the starting point in this task, but I believe the United States is willing to try to understand a little more about our situation. The U.S. Congress is starting to understand the efforts by President Fujimori and the Peruvian Armed Forces to fight this terrible scourge and to respect human rights. This fact helps to improve our bilateral relations.

[Valle] Is it true that terrorist activities that used to affect the outskirts of Lima are now focusing on Lima?

[Blacker] This move shows that terrorism is losing ground in the country. The fact that terrorists seek refuge in the capital means that they have been expelled from rural areas. This is very encouraging. Armed Forces and police intelligence actions are improving, and I have great hopes that in the next few years, under President Fujimori's administration, this social scourge that causes such great damage will be defeated.

[Valle] President Fujimori's administration is characterized by a search for a sort of pluralism, in that it has

resorted to people of different political leanings. What is the political line of Foreign Minister Blacker? Is he a supporter of the APRA [American Popular Revolutionary Alliance], of Mario Vargas Llosa's party, or can we call him an independent or a technocrat?

[Blacker] I have always supported the independent line. I am mainly concerned about the well-being of the Peruvian people. I think I can be regarded as a technocrat.

For more than 60 years, Chile and Peru have tried, at different levels of intensity, to comply with the 1929 Treaty. New initiatives have been promoted. For the past two years now, the projects included in this agreement, which will help Peru, are ready and are awaiting a decision to use them.

The treaty establishes that the Chilean Government will finance the construction of a dock within 1,575 meters of Arica Bay, a building for the custom office, and a railroad depot on the line to Tacna. [sentence as published] It was also agreed to erect a statue of Christ on the Arica hill, as a sign of fraternity. The sculptor of the 10-meter statue, which cost over $100,000, is concerned about possible damage to the statue because it was laid down on the ground at a military unit in the Azapa Valley.

[Valle] When your visit was announced, it was said that you will discuss the pending clauses of the 1929 Treaty. What matters are still pending?

[Blacker] We should not talk about specific clauses. The main issue is the establishment of the legal framework for administration of the dock, the custom office, and the rail depot. I want to reiterate that Chilean sovereignty on this territory is not being discussed. We are not discussing this issue at all. We are merely referring to the treaty signed in 1929 and to the complementary accord.

[Valle] Why it is not possible to agree, considering the projects concluded several years ago?

[Blacker] Because of historical delays that, without any political decision, have made it very difficult to make progress in this issue. I believe, however, that this is a great historic moment when the commitment and the political decision of the two presidents will help to definitively solve this issue in a very short term.

[Valle] Why do you think that no political decision was reached before?

[Blacker] Because of a series of situations that have affected the two countries, situations about which I prefer not to comment. We must now look toward the future, because this is the way we will decide the destiny of our nations.

[Valle] Do you think that the pending issues included in the 1929 treaty will be resolved in 1992?

[Blacker] I hope so.

[Valle] Do you think that the various interpretations of the treaty by the two nations have influenced the issue?

[Blacker] Obviously. This is why the commissions appointed by the two countries will try to clarify, to reach agreements, and to define interpretations.

[Valle] Do you think that by August, when President Fujimori is scheduled to visit Chile, there will be a common interpretation on this issue that has not been feasible for many years?

[Blacker] Both countries have made the intelligent decision to appoint very capable people to these commissions. I hope this will help to enhance President Fujimori's visit and to further strengthen bilateral relations.

[Valle] A short time ago, Foreign Minister Silva Cimma stated that the disagreement was caused by the different interpretation given to the phrase "the service of Peru." What does this phrase mean to your government?

[Blacker] I will leave this phrase to be assessed by the commissions when they begin work.

[Valle] Chile appointed a special commission to address this issue last year. It was said that one was not designated in Peru at that time because of the lack of resources or goodwill. Why has this commission just been created?

[Blacker] Several positions have been proposed in Peru, especially in the area of foreign policy. One should not attach too much importance to this delay. We are determined to recover the wasted time.

[Valle] Will the final solution be ratified at the presidential level during President Fujimori's visit?

[Blacker] I hope so.

[Valle] One of the topics included in the 1929 Treaty is the installation of the statue of Christ on Arica hill but, apparently, many sectors do not agree with this decision. What do you think about this?

[Blacker] I do not see how two catholic countries could have great problems on a matter involving the redeemer Christ. I do not have any.

[Valle] Another point that has always been pending, although it is not included in the Treaty, is the matter on the Chinchorro, a Peruvian property located in Arica. Will the commissions analyze this matter?

[Blacker] This is Peruvian property, and we think it should not be included in the negotiations by the commissions. This is a different problem. I have agreed with Silva Cimma that the commissions will only analyze the terms of the 1929 Treaty. The matter on the Chinchorro property will be discussed separately.

[Valle] But is there an attempt to solve it, because this is also a conflictual issue?

[Blacker] We Peruvians greatly wish to cooperate to improve the look of Arica, and we are analyzing several ways to do so.

[Valle] Until the pending matters included in the 1929 Treaty and the Chinchorro property are resolved, should we assume that Chilean-Peruvian relations must wait for a solution?

[Blacker] Not at all. The talks, cooperation, and visits between Peru and Chile have greatly increased in the past few months. We are pleased with the continuous visit of Chilean experts with whom we discuss aspects of our development. We have great respect and admiration for your experts.

* Government's Priorities for 1992 Described

92SM0233A Lima EL PERUANO in Spanish
2 Jan 92 p 4/A

[Editorial in official gazette: "The Challenges of 1992"]

[Text] The incredulous and the skeptical cannot deny that the government made some significant accomplishments in political and economic administration in 1991. There is no smugness or arrogance about these results, just the self-assurance necessary to evaluate the past and look optimistically toward the future that dawns with 1992.

In the past year, a number of inherited burdens have been eliminated: international isolation, unchecked inflation, the elephantine state bureaucracy, and the budget deficit, on the one hand; and on the other hand, the rising tide of terrorist violence has been confronted with an intelligent strategy that has promoted active civilian participation in the struggle against political totalitarianism, alongside the armed forces.

Politics is both art and science; it is rigorous knowledge coupled with human intuition; it is practical action and wise reflection. Therein lies the success of the past year, in which all those professionals who are willing to serve Peru have been called together, putting aside ideologies and partisanship, to lend a hand and contribute their knowledge to the implementation of a great cultural and economic reform in our country.

The long term is made up of a string of short terms. A year, measured in history, is a short period of time. In the short term, the government has achieved undeniable successes, recognized by agencies such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the rigorous English magazine THE ECONOMIST. One phase of a program has been completed, and we have made great progress, which encourages us to be more realistic and more demanding so that we can bring the program to a successful conclusion.

The challenges that lie ahead are still based on three pillars, which together make up the foundation for our future possibilities:

- **Economy:** We need to optimize our economy, bringing about, on the one hand, an industrial reconversion that will enable us to play a full part in the dynamics of the world market and corner the market in the Pacific Basin. Because of its geographic location, our country is uniquely placed to seize that opportunity. This implies an internal modernization program to raise the indices of productivity and production, and it also requires changes in the mentality of the business sector and the attitudes Peruvian workers have toward their jobs. Not only must businessmen rid themselves of the ghost of mercantilism, but the workers must also rid themselves of the bureaucracy, which is preventing us from developing an internationally competitive labor force.

On the other hand, international aid and investment should start flowing into the country in 1992. These funds are intended for productive investment and are not to be squandered as previous funds were. For this reason, we must all understand that the loans are to support the revival of production, not to feed bureaucracies, to negotiate with mercantilists, or to succumb to the populist temptation to subsidize and give away cheap money. The economic future of our country depends on our rigorous compliance and our willingness to sacrifice, on our rational and moral use of these funds.

- **Institutions:** One of the causes of the age-old crisis in Peru is the obsolescence of its institutional system, which is bureaucratic, empirical, anti-modern, and often corrupt. Any modern reform needs to have a streamlined, moral, and efficient government as its ally. In order to have a legitimate rule of law, the judicial, legislative, and executive branches must all respond to the citizens' demands and must be instruments for accelerating the modernization. In no way should they pose any obstacle to achieving the goals of well-being and national progress. We must find constitutional means to resolve the crisis that plagues our institutions, which are sometimes outmoded and conservative bastions of privilege rather than instruments for universalizing democracy, law, and equality before the law. Only with a modern and efficient rule of law can we reactivate our economy and lead the country's pacification process to a successful conclusion.

- **Pacification:** Contemporary Peru faces three scourges that are both the cause and the effect of violence: Terrorism, drug trafficking, banditry.

These three scourges can be overcome by the law enforcement and security forces and by pursuing an intelligent strategy that has the decisive support of the civilian population through peasant patrols, neighborhood patrols, urban patrols, coca-growing peasants, university students, professional associations, the Glass of Milk Committees, and the pastoral work of the Church. In short, every citizen should be committed to peace. Defeating terrorism will enable us to neutralize the drug-trafficking bands who are operating with their support in Eastern Peru, to implement the agreements

with the coca-growing peasants, and at the same time to combat the drug traffic. On the other hand, we must not overlook banditry, which is carried out by common criminals. In an atmosphere of widespread violence, they are able to pursue their criminal ways freely, robbing travelers on the highways, promoting immorality and thievery with impunity. We must be equally unyielding in the face of this criminal violence; we must fight it with the same weight of the law, because in the final analysis, it will be able to join forces with the other violent scourges to undermine the rule of law.

These are the principal challenges that await us in 1992, that all of us Peruvians are called upon to resolve, for the benefit of our country, our children, and all of our compatriots.

Uruguay

Lacalle Acts To Put 'Lid' on Political Crisis

Replaces Cabinet Members

PY0702145092 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1336 GMT 7 Feb 92

[Text] Montevideo, 7 Feb (EFE)—Official sources have said that Uruguayan President Luis Alberto Lacalle today confirmed his cabinet, replacing the ministers of economy and finance, industry and energy, and housing and environment.

Thus, Lacalle put the lid on the political crisis that began on 30 January when he addressed the nation to announce his desire to expand congressional support for his cabinet.

The new economy and finance minister is Ignacio de Posadas, of the National or "Blanco" Party to which Lacalle belongs, as is Jose Maria Mieres Muro, who has been appointed minister of housing and environment.

Eduardo Ache has been appointed to the Industry and Energy Ministry. Ache belongs to the Colorado and Batlleist Union faction of the Colorado Party. This faction will be the only political group other than the Blanco Party to be represented in the new cabinet. The Radical Batlleist faction of the Colorado Party will thus leave the cabinet.

Last week, Lacalle announced that he was planning to open up the cabinet to the participation of as many political groups as possible in order to obtain congressional approval of his bills on state reform.

The two leftwing parties represented in Congress, that is, the Broad Front and the (social democratic) New Sector refused to support Lacalle's economic policy.

The Radical Batlleist faction of the Colorado Party withdrew from the cabinet but announced that it will support Lacalle in Congress provided the liberal trend of the economic policy is strengthened.

Economy, Industry Ministers Comment

PY1102015692 Montevideo Radio Carve in Spanish 2300 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Excerpts] Brand-new Economy and Finance Minister Ignacio de Posadas has announced alternative measures to reduce social security's cost. Although the minister did not elaborate on the decisions that will be made in this regard, he said that reform of the system will be the only way to eliminate inflation, which he described as a monster that is not only eating us up but also dividing us.

Ignacio de Posadas became economy and finance minister a few hours ago, replacing accountant Enrique Braga during a ceremony at the Economy and Finance Ministry. The ceremony was attended by the vice president of the Republic, cabinet members, high-ranking officials from public agencies, and congressmen. During his speech, that he read with notable moderation, Minister Ignacio de Posadas reviewed the current administration's economic achievements. [passage omitted]

The new industry and energy minister, accountant Eduardo Ache, has taken office.

The minister refused to make any announcements with respect to the Industry and Energy Ministry's future policies. He considered it premature to make any announcements. [passage omitted]

Factions, Lacalle Reach Agreement

PY0802011292 Montevideo Radio Carve in Spanish 2300 GMT 7 Feb 92

[Text] National Rocha Movement [MNR] leader Carlos Julio Pereyra has announced that all National Party factions have reached an agreement to rule the country. The pact signed by the Herreraist Movement, the MNR, and the Renewal and Victory faction is based on the need to have a prestigious, dignifying government.

Pereyra made these remarks at the end of a round of negotiations conducted by President Luis Alberto Lacalle to reorganize his cabinet. Pereyra, who met again this morning with Lacalle, announced the basis for the agreement:

[Begin recording] [Pereyra] I would say it was the culmination of a number of meetings we held to address this political episode that is fortunately coming to an end. We discussed many topics during these talks. We raised our ideas, and the president also conveyed his objectives and his desire that we back his administration on all those topics on which we agree.

[Unidentified reporter] What proposals did the Rocha Movement make?

[Pereyra] The MNR raised some economic topics, on which our ideas are well known. Although we could not expect a drastic change in this area, we were able to introduce some significant changes. For instance, we

discussed the need for tax reform and, to this end, a bill will be drafted by government experts with the cooperation of MNR experts.

I want to note that one of our specific concerns was the application of the value-added tax to agricultural supplies and that, in light of our concern—which also is shared by Vice President Gonzalo Aguirre—the president of the Republic has decided to suspend the decree, and this will be made part of the tax reform. We regard this as a significant achievement.

Furthermore, we also are concerned about the imminent implementation of the Common Market of the South. In this regard, we believe that the restructuring of business and industrial organizations are extremely significant and cannot be left to the private sector. Although the state should not intervene in this sector, it should guide businessmen on how to reorganize their businesses, because the funds will be supplied by the Bank of the Republic of Uruguay and the IDB [Inter-American Development Bank]. [end recording]

Venezuela

Communique on Restructuring of Armed Forces

PA1102175692 Caracas Venezolana de Television Network in Spanish 1550 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Text of communique issued by President Carlos Andres Perez in Caracas on 10 February; read by announcer]

[Text] As President of Venezuela and commander in chief of the Venezuelan Armed Forces, exercising the authority vested upon me by the Organic Law of the Armed forces, I hereby comply and report to the nation that I have instructed Defense Minister [Fernando Ochoa Antich] to carry out those actions deemed necessary to restructure the Army in the areas of garrison commands, large combat units, high level units, chiefs of staff directorates, and operational units.

These instructions seek only to strengthen the military institution, promoting changes directed at optimizing the use of its resources and neutralizing the normal negative effects on the officers who experienced personally the criminal action that attempted to violate the state of law and democratic institutions. This is not directed at making a prejudgment or statement of any kind about the conduct or loyalty of those officers who are to be relieved of their duties or transferred. These officers, on the contrary, have repeatedly expressed their desire to serve, their respect, their loyalty, and their support for the defense of the Constitution and the laws.

As the president of all Venezuelans, I hereby encourage the media to be cautious in selecting and publishing news and commentary regarding these decisions about transfers and changes within the Armed Forces, and to emphasize the clarity and truth of such information. This is aimed at properly enlightening public opinion during these hard times, which have endangered democracy and its fundamental value—freedom—for which the Armed Forces have fought heroically alongside our country.

[Signed] Carlos Andres Perez, president of Venezuela and commander in chief of the Armed Forces.

Changes Explained

PA1202034892 Caracas Venezolana de Television Network in Spanish 0000 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Report by Rebeca Hung Diaz]

[Text] Upon leaving the presidential palace, Division General Fernando Ochoa Antich, minister of defense, stated that the garrison changes ordered by Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez are due to a reorganization, not disloyalty.

[Begin recording] [Hung Diaz] Ochoa remarked that even President Perez testified to the absolute loyalty of these officers in a written communique, and that the changes mostly are due to the reorganization plan that has been put into effect, not to doubts about the officers' conduct.

Ochoa immediately went on to summarize the ethical misconduct of the persons who conducted the attempted coup d'etat.

[Ochoa] The fact that they betrayed their superior officers, after taking an oath of loyalty and obedience to those superior officers before the flag, is a very serious matter. Moreover, the fact that they deceived many subordinates and led them to an adventure such as the one we are presently experiencing....[pauses] or that we have experienced, is even more serious.

With some indignation, I must also refer to the attack on a civilian objective such as La Casona [presidential residence], and to the fact that the attack on La Casona continued even when it was known that President Perez' family was there alone. This is something that undoubtedly will weigh very heavily on those who are responsible for that incident.

I also want to refer to an incident, which from the viewpoint of military ethics is tremendously serious, namely, the fact that Commander Chavez Frias did not fight alongside his subordinates during the events. This will be marked down in Venezuelan history, and I must be responsible in pointing this out because that is not how the officers of the Venezuelan Armed Forces behave.

[Hung Diaz] Regarding the observations that have been made about possible deficiencies in military defense strategies—deficiencies that became obvious during the events surrounding the attempted coup d'etat on 4 February—Ochoa stated that this kind of treason is very difficult to detect, and that, in any event, these deficiencies will be corrected soon. [end recording]